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SANSKRIT DOCUMENTS

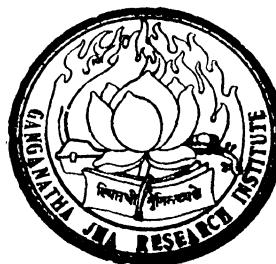
BEING SANSKRIT LETTERS AND OTHER DOCUMENTS
PRESERVED IN THE ORIENTAL COLLECTION AT
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

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PREFACE

THE records of the East India Company were naturally kept in English. The Indian princes, however, in the early days at least, preferred to use Persian, the French of the east, in their diplomatic correspondence. The great bulk of the official archives at New Delhi therefore consists of English records and the Persian Correspondence comes next both in volume and in importance. But there are records in other languages of the east, which though much less voluminous, do not lack either in historical interest or academic value. They have hitherto received but little notice and less attention. Forrest limited his studies to English records only and his example was emulated by his successors, Hill and Wilson. Ross, well-versed in the lores of modern and medieval Iran, turned his attention to the huge mass of Persian Correspondence hitherto ignored by its legal custodians and arranged for the preparation of Calendars seven volumes of which have already seen light and two more are awaiting publication. Of records in other oriental or Indian tongues the public at large had hardly any knowledge. A preliminary scrutiny in 1939 left no doubt about their cultural value and the Government of India authorized their Keeper of Records (now Director of Archives) to get them published through private agencies. The learned institutions all over the country readily responded to his appeal and the first volume of the new series was published by the Calcutta University in 1942 under the honorary editorship of Government of India's Keeper of Records. The Universities of Allahabad, Annamalai and Delhi, the Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal of Poona and the Government of Kotah came forward with proposals of editing and publishing at their own expenses volumes of Hindi, Tamil, Persian and Marathi news letters and official papers and the newly organised Ganganatha Jha Research Institute naturally interested itself in the publication of the Sanskrit papers. Some of these papers first appeared in the Institute's Journal and evoked no little interest among the orientalists in this country and abroad. It was decided that the main responsibility of preparing the text, the English translation, the English introduc-

tion and notes should rest with the Director of Archives while Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Umesha Mishra should add an introduction in Sanskrit. In spite of the best efforts of the editors the publication has been long held over due to circumstances over which neither of them had any control. It is well known that papers were not easy to get and printing presses had more work than they could handle. But for the personal efforts of Mahamahopadhyaya Umesha Mishra the publication of this small collection of Sanskrit letters and legal papers might have been still further delayed.

The first editor should like to avail himself of this opportunity of recording his obligation to his colleague Mr. Sourindra Nath Roy, M.A. Mr. Roy has been responsible for transcribing the text, locating the documents, a task by no means easy as they were often separated from the relevant paper collection of materials for notes and preparing the first draft of the English rendering. His thanks are also due to Professor K. K. Datta, M.A., Ph. D. of the Patna College, Mr. S. C. Ghosal, B.A., B.Sc., LL.B., Director of Public Instruction, Alwar and Professor A. H. Nizami, M.A. of the Rewa College for information about villages near Gay, Visvanath Dikshit and the village of Sihunda respectively. Pandit Krishna Dutt Bharadwaj, M.A., of Modern High School, New Delhi, very kindly revised the English translation and made some valuable suggestions. To Pandit Nilkantha Das and Professor G. S. Das of Ravenshaw College, Cuttack, he is indebted for information about the signatories to the Puri letter and the 36 departments into which the temple administration was divided.

The munificence of His Highness the Maharaja of Tehri Garhwal has provided funds for the printing and publication of this volume. Sanskrit studies in India owe a great deal to her princes and His Highness has earned our deep gratitude by kindly extending his distinguished patronage to this humble work.

आमुखम्

भारतीयराज्यरासनाथिकारे 'राष्ट्रीय-लेखरक्षागारे' सुरक्षितानां संस्कृतभाषया निबद्धानां विविधविषयसंवलितानां प्रत्नानां साधारणव्यावहारिकपत्राणां धर्म-शास्त्रीयव्यवस्थापत्राणां च संप्रहः प्रथममेव प्रकाश्य विदुपां पुरतोऽद्य संस्थाप्यते । तत्त्वालिकलेखनगैलीविषये विरोपपरिच्छयोऽस्माकं भवेदिति हेतोः प्राचीनलेखनामानुपूर्वीयप्रकाशने यत्नो विहितः । अतो लेखभाषादिभ्रमशोधने शिथिल-यत्ना वयम् । तथापि टिप्पणीपुक्तिष्वुनः संशोवनं सम्पादितम् ।

संग्रहऽस्मिन् पञ्चविंशतिसंख्यका विविधप्रकारका लेखाः सन्ति । तद्यथा—

- (१) १७७८मिते खीस्ताब्दे दत्तकपुत्रस्त्रीकारमधिकृत्यैकत्रिंशतसंख्यकैः काशीस्थ-विद्वन्द्विः प्रदत्त व्यवस्थापत्रम् ।
- (२) १७८८मिते खीस्ताब्दे भारतवर्षस्य राजप्रतिनिधिशासकं वारेन हेस्तिंग्स-महोदयं प्रति वाराणसीयपरिडतानां निवेदनपत्रम् ।
- (३) १७८८मिते खीस्ताब्दे वारेन हेस्तिंग्समहोदयं प्रति क शीस्थवंगदेशीय-परिडतानां निवेदनपत्रम् ।
- (४) द्वितीयतृतीयपत्रयोर्विदुपां नामानि 'उदू' अद्वैर्लिखितानि सन्ति ।
- (५) १७९१मिते खीस्ताब्दे लार्ड कार्नवालिसं प्रति सूरतनगरवासिन्या गोस्वामि-वंशोत्पन्नया वहूजीमहाराज्या प्रेपितं पत्रम् ।
- (६) १७९६मिते खीस्ताब्दे सर जौन शोरं प्रति ग्वालियरनिवासिना केन चित् कंहरदासनामधेयेन विदुपा प्रेपिता 'आर्जवपत्रिका' ।
- (७) १७९८मिते वर्षे कंहरदासेन राजकीयप्रधानपरिषदं प्रति प्रेपिता तृतीया 'आर्जवपत्रिका' ।
- (८) १८०१मिते वर्षे काशीस्थराजकीयसंस्कृतमहाविद्यालयस्य प्रथमसर्वाध्य-क्षेण काशीनाथपरिडतेन लार्डमौर्निंगटनं प्रति प्रेपितं प्रशस्तिपत्रम् ।
- (९) १८०४मिते वर्षे जगन्नाथपुरीनिवासिभिः पुरोहितैः लार्ड वेलेसलीं प्रति प्रेपितं प्रार्थनापत्रम् ।

(१०) १८०८मिते वर्षे यशोवन्तरावमहाशयस्य मुद्रामधिकृत्य रचितं पद्यमेकम्
(११) १८२२मिते वर्षे नागरब्राह्मणेषुत्तराधिकारिविषये वाराणसीस्त्रैः पञ्चमिर्विद्वद्विद्वद्वत्तं व्यवस्थापत्रम् ।
(१२) १८२४मितेवर्षेऽराज्यविभाजनविषयकोधर्मशास्त्रसम्मतो विदुपां परामर्शः ।
(१३) १८२८मिते वर्षे यदुनाथपणिडतेन विरचितं छत्रादिवन्धनिर्मितं पद्य-द्वयम् ।
(१४) १८२६मितेवर्षेऽबुरियास्यसुखननामधेयया राज्या प्रात्मुत्तराधिकारिविषयकं व्यवस्थापत्रम् ।
(१५) १८३३मिते वर्षे मैकनाटनं प्रति प्रेषितं नेकारामशर्मणः प्रार्थनापत्रम् ।
(१६-१७) १८३३मिते वर्षे मैकनाटनं प्रति प्रेषितं केनारामशर्मणः प्रार्थना-पत्रद्वयम् ।
(१८) १८३४मिते वर्षे ब्राह्मणधनापहरणविषयकमम्बारामशाक्तिणा लक्ष्मीदेव्या च प्रातं व्यवस्थापत्रम् ।
(१९) १८३४मिते वर्षे चत्वारीराज्यमधिकृत्योत्तराधिकारिसम्बन्धे काशीस्थ पणिडतानां व्यवस्थापत्रम् ।
(२०) १८३६मिते वर्षे नेपालस्थपणिडतराजरंगनाथगुरुवर्येषु उदयपुरस्थराणा शरदारसिहेन प्रेषितं पत्रम् ।
(२१) १८३६मिते वर्षे नेपालस्थमहाराजराजेन्द्रश्रीविक्रमशाहवर्मसु उदय-पुरस्थराणाशरदारसिहेन प्रेषितं पत्रम् ।
(२२) १८४२मिते वर्षे यदुनाथपणिडतरनिर्मितं पद्यमेकम् ।
(२३) १८४३मिते वर्षे ताईसाहिवेतिनामधेयया वायासाहिवेतिनामधेया प्रात्मौरसपुत्रशब्दार्थपरामर्शविषयकं व्यवस्थापत्रम् ।
(२४) १८४४मिते वर्षे लार्ड डलहौसीं प्रति विश्वनाथेनामिहोत्रिणा चौराप हरणसम्बन्धे प्रेषितं पत्रम् ।
(२५) १८४५मिते वर्षे गुह्दासपुरस्येन मुरारिनाम्ना प्रातं विभाजनसम्बन्धे व्यवस्थापत्रम् ।

एतेषु लेखेषु एतिहासिकमहत्वं तु वर्तत एव किन्तु तत्सैवेदमपि ज्ञायते यद-
तिसाधारणव्यावहारिकविषयेष्वपि राजकीयशासकैः सह संस्कृतभाष्यैव पुरा-
विदांसो व्यवहरन्ति स्म । भारतीयानां कृते सर्वेषु कार्यक्रेत्रेषु संस्कृतभाष्यैव राष्ट्र-

भावारूपेण सर्वैः स्वीकृता आसीत् । यदधुना आड्ग्लभावायाः स्थानमस्ति तत्राति-
पूर्वे संस्कृतभाषयाऽलंकृतम् । पाश्चात्यरेशीयैरपि संस्कृतभाषाया महत्त्वं स्वीकृतमेव ।

संस्कृतभाषाविदां विदुयां विशेषतः काशीस्थानां कीदृशः समादर आसी-
द्वित्यपि पत्रेतु स्पष्टमेव । कथमतिसाधारणविग्रेष्वपि पुरा विद्वांसः स्वयमेव
राज्यशासकैः सह निजानुकूलविपये पत्राचारादिकमकुर्वन्नित्यपि सुस्पष्टम् ।

एवंविवरमहत्त्वं गूर्णपत्रादिकं राजकीयाज्ञानुसारेण प्रकाशितं भविष्यतीति
ज्ञात्वा तेषां पत्राणां प्रकाशनाविकाराय ‘गंगानाथका’-रिसर्च-इन्स्टिट्यूट’-संरक्षकैः
कृता प्रार्थना राष्ट्रीय-लेखरक्षागाराद्यकैः स्वीकृता वभूव । अतस्ते भूयो भूयोऽस्माकं
साधुवादार्हाः । तदनु अस्माभिः पुनः टेहरीगढ़वालनरेशः ग्रन्थस्यास्य प्रकाशन-
व्यये साहाय्यप्रदानार्थं प्रार्थितः । अर्त्युदारचेताः स खजु महाराजः परमकृपयाऽ-
स्माकमभ्यर्थनां स्वीकृत्यातितरां धन्यवादार्हाः सज्जातः । एवमस्ताकं संस्थायाः
प्रथमोऽयं ग्रन्थप्रकाशनप्रयासः । ग्रन्थेनानेन संस्कृतज्ञानां विदुयासुपकारश्चेदस्माकं
प्रयत्नः सफलो भविष्यतीत्यलम् ।

गंगानाथका
रिसर्च-इन्स्टिट्यूट,
प्रयाग

श्रीउमेशमिश्रः

A NOTE ON TYPOGRAPHICAL DEVICES AND ABBREVIATIONS USED.

In preparing the Sanskrit text printed in the volume the editors have endeavoured to adhere as faithfully as possible to the textual arrangement in the original documents. The division into lines in the manuscript text has been kept intact except where the limits of space dictated their splitting up. Superfluous words which could not be accommodated within the print-area have been utilised to form subsidiary lines, which appear in the text with an indent. They can thus be easily distinguished from the complete lines. No effort has been made to introduce punctuations that do not occur in the original except for the hyphen which has been used to indicate split up words at the end of a line. The spelling of the original documents has been generally followed, all corrections and emendations being relegated to the Notes. Obvious mistakes have, however, been pointed out in the body of the text by putting the emended reading in round brackets immediately after the corrupt or misspelt word or syllable. All lacunae, whether due to mutilation or illegibility, have been noted by means of blank spaces enclosed in square brackets. The approximate length of each lacuna has been indicated in the Notes. All conjectural additions have been put in square brackets and doubtful readings marked with a note of interrogation.

The system of transliteration followed is that approved of by the Council of Royal Asiatic Society, Great Britain and Ireland, in its resolution dated October 1896, but for the fact that र̄ has been rendered by *ri*, च by *ch*, छ by *chh*, श by *sh*, anusvara by *m̄* and visarga by *h*.

As regards personal and place names and technical terms, modern spellings have been generally followed except in the English Translation where use has been made of diacritical marks whenever considered indispensable.

Ar.	... Arabic.
Bib. Ind.	... Bibliotheca Indica.
Bonn Univ. Edn.	... Bonn University Edition.
Cons.	... Consultations.
Foreign Misc. Series	... Miscellaneous Records of the Foreign Department of the Government of India at the National Archives of India.
I. R. D.	... Imperial Record Department.
O. R.	... Original Persian Letters Received.
Pers.	... Persian.
Pol. Cons.	... Political Consultations.
Pol. Progs.	... Political Proceedings.
Pub. Cons.	... Public Consultations.
S. B. E.	... Sacred Books of the East.
Sec. Cons.	... Secret Consultations.

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INTRODUCTION

THE Sanskrit papers collected here are of diverse date and character. They do not belong to any particular series. Only two letters fall under the category of diplomatic correspondence, four documents may be described as memoranda and complimentary letters, there are several petitions from people in distress and difficulty, two laudatory verses testify to the literary skill of their authors and in a solitary case we come across an inaccurate copy of the Sanskrit legend on a silver coin issued by Yashavant Rao Holkar. The largest group consists of eight *vyavasthāpatras* or discourses on controversial questions of Hindu law. Unlike the other paper the *vyavasthāpatras* have one common characteristic, for they invariably try to give an authoritative exposition of Hindu law of inheritance although the points at issue often vary and the parties affected range from ruling princes and rich zemindars to Brahman stipendiaries and village priests. Obviously it is impossible to weave a single yarn out of such heterogenous materials. Yet individual documents are neither unimportant nor uninteresting. Each of them must therefore be studied with reference to its own context.

Apart from their historical value these documents have a special interest for us as they are composed in a language known only to the learned few. We do not propose to discuss here whether Sanskrit was ever a spoken language. That it served as a *lingua franca* for the people of India long after it had ceased to be a living language cannot be gainsaid. Hindu princes belonging to different parts of the country and speaking different vernaculars found in Sanskrit a suitable and convenient medium for diplomatic correspondence in the last decades of the seventeenth century and donatory grants and inscriptions still continued to be made in the language which seems to have gained in sanctity by lapse of time. These documents go a long way to prove, if any proof is needed, that Sanskrit still served to furnish a linguistic bond among the Hindus of India,

The first in date is not necessarily the first in importance and we may begin with a couple of memoranda concerning one of the early builders of the British empire in India and one of the most notable cases of impeachment known to British history.

MEMORANDA AND ADDRESSES

Two Sanskrit Memoranda of 1787 (Documents 2-3)

A masterful person was Warren Hastings. Intent on having his own way in everything he rode roughshod over all opposition, reasonable or perverse. It is needless to say that he was not always right, nor did he receive impartial justice from contemporary critics in every instance. His autocratic methods, fully justified as they were by success, naturally made many enemies who, thwarted in India, carried their propaganda at home to the greater prejudice of their powerful opponent's interests and Hastings found himself impeached for his alleged misdemeanours after his return to England. His strong rule however had won for him the goodwill and admiration of many Indians, and they hastened to testify to the great qualities of the illustrious proconsul when the news reached this country. Four testimonials about Hastings's solicitude for the welfare of the Company's subjects came from Benares alone. The first of these bore two hundred and seventy-seven seals of the notables of the holy city including the Maharaja and attested to the uncommon prudence, rectitude, ability, understanding, and courtesy of Hastings. This memorandum was evidently drawn up in Persian, the language of the elegant and the elite. The fourth memorandum was in Hindustani written in Gujarati character and gave expression to the high esteem in which Hastings was held by the rich bankers of "the New Putty quarters" and the wealthy merchants of Benares. The second and third testimonials are reproduced in the present volume. They bore numerous signatures and referred in general terms to what Hastings had done to earn public gratitude.

The 178 signatories of one memorandum came from the distant provinces of Maharashtra and Gujarat and were officially

described as "Pandits of Maharashtra and Nagara and other Brahmans at Benares". The 112 subscribers of the other testimonial are inaccurately alluded to as Bengal Pandits. The names leave no doubt that all of them did not come from Bengal nor was every one of these signatories a Brahman by caste and all the Brahmans who came forward to record their testimony in Hastings's favour could not claim to be Sanskrit scholars. Mannu Dicchit (Dikshit) Ramanath Dicchit (Dikshit) and Ausan Misra are not Bengali names and probably belonged to the adjoining province of Bihar historically associated with the bigger and more important Suba. Kasinath Maithil very likely hailed from the Dārbhanga region. Bihari Charan Sil, Sant Singh, Viswanath Ghosh, Ram Sundar Sahu, Krishna Mohan Das and Ram Sankar Basu could not have been Brahmans. They were indiscriminately grouped together as Bengali Pandits probably because they had all subscribed to a statement in Sanskrit, a language commonly confined to the priestly caste. While the memorialists from Maharashtra, Gujarat, Bihar and Bengal used a common tongue they did not use a common script. The former wrote in Devanagari but the latter preferred the Bengali character with which they were more familiar. It is not unlikely that the Sils, Ghoshes and Basus were quite innocent of a script in which the learned alone revelled. It may be noted here that the original signatures have been lost and we have at present a list of signatories in Arabic letters appended to the Persian translation.

The residents and outsiders, settled at the holy city of Visweswar, naturally belonged to all stations of life. Some of them were humble pilgrims and unostentatious seekers of learning while a good few must have been men of wealth and influence. We find for instance the name of Jai Narayan Ghoshal among the Bengali memorialists. But rich and poor, learned and unlettered scrupulously refrained from questions of high politics and referred only to those specific acts of the ex-Governor-General which were particularly calculated to benefit the pilgrims, e.g., the suppression of the undue and illegal exactions of the Gangaputras or the officiating priests,

the new facilities for the free and unhampered performance of their religious rites, the appointment of Ali Ibrahim Khan as Chief Magistrate of Benares, and last but not least the construction of a *naubat khana* or music gallery near the gateway of the Visweswar temple. This must have specially appealed to the devout Hindu as a particularly meritorious act. Hastings had the imagination of a real statesman and knew how to win the golden opinion of the man in the street. If he had deprived the holy city of its Hindu ruler he was not long in proving that neither the deity nor his devotees were out of his mind and their needs would always receive his earnest attention. His unchristian homage to a pagan god probably did the greatest credit to this Christian ruler.

What proportion of the outsiders settled at Benares subscribed to these memorials it is difficult to ascertain at this distance of time. The special sanctity of the holy city had from time immemorial attracted myriads of pilgrims from all parts of India. Benares, moreover, enjoyed the eminence of being the greatest seat of Sanskrit learning and thousands of ambitious students flocked there to seek the academic distinction which the city of Visweswar alone could confer. There must have been therefore a large floating population of pilgrims, professors and pupils of whom the 290 persons who made their written deposition must have formed an infinitesimal fraction. According to Prinsep, there were no less than 11,311 Maharashtra, 1,231 Nagara and 3,000 Bengali residents at Benares in 1828-29 or fifty years after the submission of the memorials and it is interesting to note that one thousand Gangaputras ministered to the spiritual needs of 1,22,365 Hindus at that date.

It may be pertinently enquired whether these testimonies were really free and voluntary. It is to be noted that Ali Ibrahim Khan forwarded these four memorials to Mr. Jonathan Duncan "in order that he might in his kindness forward them to the Council at Calcutta and request on behalf of the inhabitants that the beneficent gentlemen of the Council having caused the addresses to be translated would send both the originals and the translations to the Presence of the Hon'ble Directors." Mr. Duncan however

was on his guard and refused to have anything to do with these documents as they had "no relation with the Business of the Company."¹ The papers were thereupon sent to Hastings's attorney, Mr. Thomson. Mr. Thomson approached the Governor-General-in-Council with a request that he may be permitted to receive such written testimonies as the native inhabitants of the Company's territories may be willing to bear to the merits of Mr. Hastings and that the Judges, Collectors and residents under the Presidency may be requested to transmit any such testimony to the Governor-General-in-Council.² This request was complied with but the Company's servants were plainly warned that "the liberty now accorded is merely to receive and transmit testimonials when offered and you are not to deduce any inference from it that you are authorised to exercise any further interference in the business".³ It is therefore clear that the Governor-General-in-Council were not prepared to countenance any undue zeal on the part of their officers in securing any testimony in Hastings's favour. They were simply to act as a post office when any memorial was voluntarily submitted. Mr. Duncan's attitude was one of rigid neutrality, if not of frigid indifference.

Ali Ibrahim Khan on the contrary was a friend and protégé of Warren Hastings. It is not unlikely that he might have exerted himself in securing these testimonials from the citizens of Benares. It is evident from his own letters that he did not share Mr. Duncan's indifference in this matter. As the Chief Magistrate of the city he had exceptional opportunities of bringing some pressure to bear upon the grandees, bankers and residents of humbler status if he was so inclined, and the glowing terms in which our memorialists refer to the unique qualities of the head and heart with which the Khan was richly endowed may lead an over-sophisticated reader to suspect that these documents were probably designed as

¹ Ali Ibrahim Khan to Thompson, Public Consultations, 31 March, 1788, No. 14.

² Letter dated 2 March 1788.

³ Circular letter from Mr. E. Hay, Public Consultations, 31 March, 1788, No. 16.

much to flatter the magistrate as to exonerate the ex-Governor-General from unmerited aspersions. Jai Narain Ghoshal also might not have been absolutely uninterested in Hastings's fate though he figures rather low on the list. The memorialists however steered clear of controversial measures and questions of high policy; their testimony is strictly limited to facts within their own knowledge and there is no reason to suggest that it was not given of their free-will because Ali Ibrahim Khan took a natural, if indiscreet, interest in the preparation and transmission of these documents.

The Pandits speak of the rare kindness which they received from Hastings during his second visit to Benares. A sincere patron of oriental learning Hastings must have received his learned visitors with spontaneous courtesy which made a lasting impression on them and when the memorials were drafted the scholars of the South, West and East readily agreed to pay a spontaneous tribute to the charming manners of the Governor-General. It may, therefore, reasonably be concluded that these two documents truly reflect the genuine feeling of the signatories though the idea of bearing public testimony to Warren Hastings's character and achievements might have emanated from men of rank and wealth.

A Letter to Lord Cornwallis (Document 4)

Every age has its peculiar standard of propriety. Who expects the Governor-General in the midst of his multifarious pre-occupations to correspond to-day with a complete stranger without any business public or private? But things were different in the eighteenth century and the good lady from Surat who solicited such a courtesy from Lord Cornwallis did nothing unusual. The Emperor of Delhi would not condescend to take notice of anybody and everybody and the lucky recipient of an imperial *shuqqa* would rightly feel proud of so special a favour. Such an epistle would be treasured more or less as a hallmark of high social standing. When the empire declined and the Governor-General became the arbiter of its fate, aspirants to social distinctions naturally turned to him as the source of all

honour. To be permitted to correspond with the Governor-General was a privilege for which the old nobility would vie with the new. Probably it also afforded in an indirect way some security against the rapacity of the less scrupulous servants of the state to which residents of distant stations were not infrequently exposed.

The correspondent of Lord Cornwallis was obviously a person of high status and noble origin. She styles herself as *Mahārāṇī* as well as *gosvāminī*. In India a Muslim mendicant is ordinarily addressed as a *shah* or king and courtesy concedes a similar honour to a Hindu recluse. Our *gosvāminī* was evidently a Maharani by courtesy and owed the title to her connection with some religious order. She refers the Governor-General to a letter from Lala Mayaram who may be reasonably identified with the Dewan of Tegh Bakht Khan, Nawab of Surat.⁴ The letter, in question, is in Persian and was dated the 2nd March, 1791. It gives a brief account of the Maharani's family and explains the objects of her correspondence with the Governor-General and may be quoted in full.

"It is well known that the ancestors of Maharani Bahuji Maharaj always placed their reliance on God and they did not look up to anyone (for support) except Him and they were content with whatever they got from their disciples and followers and did not hanker after more. Their *Thakuradwara* was at Gokul, Muttra, where they received all sorts of favours and concessions from the reigning kings. But on account of their extreme piety and being engaged in the search for God they did not care for these things. When the affairs of the state fell into confusion and religious prejudice gained ground, they left that place and, at the request of their disciples and followers, who lived in these districts, they brought their *Thakuradwara* to the port of Surat. Here they passed their days in contentment on whatever they received from their disciples. As they are always offering prayers for the good of the people and the chiefs of the time, peace and order were established among

⁴ *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, VII, No. 276.

men, through the power and rule of the English gentlemen. Religious prejudices disappeared. For this blessing they are always praying for the increase of the power and prestige of the English. May God enhance their splendour and dignity and may He give them grace to administer justice to the people ! As there was a regular correspondence between the Chief of Surat and the aforesaid Bahuji, the affairs of the *Thākuradwāra* received full attention, and through the good offices of that gentleman, all the officers of the Government gave help and showed kindness. That gentleman having left for England, correspondence with him ceased. But fortunately his lordship is the Governor-General who looks after the interests of everybody and the fame of his greatness has spread all over and the said Bahuji has heard from all visitors to these parts about the excellent qualities of his lordship. She is, therefore, more than ever engaged in offering prayers for the increase of his honour and glory. She is now desirous of opening a correspondence with him and she is sending a letter to him through a pair of *qasids* along with this letter. I request that you will kindly send a reply to it and inform us of your health and welfare from time to time. May the Sun of your fortune always shine bright!" (OR 58 : 2nd March 1791).

Obviously Bahuji Maharaj was the head of the Maharaja⁵ sect at Surat, for it was by this title that the consort⁶ of the pontiff of that order was generally known. It is no wonder that she should call herself *Gosvāminī Mahārājñī*, as Vitthalanath, son of Vallabhacharya, the founder of the sect, was popularly known as Sri Gosaiji, the Sanskrit equivalent of which in the feminine gender is *Sri Gosvāminī*. Vitthalanath's sons and pontifical successors later added the honorific title of Maharaja⁷ to their names in accordance with the traditions of the country

⁵ On the Maharaja sect, see *History of the Sect of the Maharajas*; Wilson, *Works*, Vol. I; Grouse, *Mathura and Hastings, Encyclopaedia of Religion*.

⁶ *History of the Sect of the Maharajas*, p. 106,

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 44.

and our Bahuji conformed to the usual practice when she styled herself as *Sri Mahārājñī*. The legend on the seal may not be unworthy of some scrutiny. Sri Balakrishnaji, third son of Vitthalanath, was the head of one branch of his grandfather's sect and a temple known by his name (also called *Gosavi Maha-raja's temple*) was built at Surat about 1695⁸. It is not, therefore, unreasonable to infer that Bahuji Maharaja derived her pontifical status from Balakrishna and belonged to his branch of the sect. Probably she was associated with the Balakrishnaji temple of Surat. The Vallabhacharya sect had originally its seat a *Gokula*⁹ near *Muttra* and, as Mayaram hints, transferred its headquarters to Surat when "religious prejudice gained ground" during the reign of Aurangzeb Alamgir. One branch of the sect migrated with the image they worshipped to *Nathadwara* in Udaipur¹⁰ and the priests of Balakrishnaji's order probably removed their establishment earlier to safer regions on the banks of the *Tapti*. In 1872 roughly one-ninth of the Vaishnavas, one twenty-seventh of the entire Hindu population of Surat were of Balakrishna's¹¹ persuasion. Bahuji Maharaja, as the shepherdess of so considerable a flock, was a personage of sufficient importance and one who was entitled to divine honour from her disciples might reasonably expect some recognition of her temporal position from the secular authorities. Why a personage claiming quasi-divine status should go out of her way to cultivate the good-will of a mere mortal is a different question.

Lord Wellesley and the Puri Priests (Document 9).

On the 18th July 1804, Col. Harcourt addressed a letter to the Governor-General from Cuttack. Enclosed with it was a long slip of paper entirely overlaid with gold leaf bearing a message in a strange character with signatures in diverse scripts. The grateful priests, abbots, recluses, Vaishnavas, Brahmans and

⁸ *Surat District Gazetteer*.

⁹ *Grouse, op. cit. pp. 288 ff. and 352.*

¹⁰ *Grouse, op. cit. p. 36.*

¹¹ *Bombay District Gazetteer, Vol. I., pp. 535-6.*

the royal preceptor (*Rajaguru*) of Puri headed by Krishna Chandra Mahapatra¹² had in a Sanskrit epistle paid their humble tribute to Lord Wellesley's process and policy of conciliation. The compliments so spontaneously paid to the Governor-General were by no means undeserved. It was his deliberate object to cultivate the good will and to win the good opinion of the priests of Jagannath. When the second Maratha War broke out and the British troops were sent to take possession of the Maratha province of Cuttack and a Civil Commissioner was appointed with the Military Commander to restore normal conditions in the conquered country as early as possible, they were specially enjoined to look after the interests of the pilgrims and priests of Puri. In the instructions drawn up on the 3rd of August Col. Campbell and Mr. Melville were told :—

“ 6. The situation of the pilgrims passing to and from Jaggernaut will require your particular attention ; you will be careful to afford them the most ample protection and to treat them with every mark of consideration and kindness.

7. On your arrival at Jaggernaut you will employ every possible precaution to preserve the respect due to the Pagoda and to the religious prejudices of the Brahmins and Pilgrims. You will furnish the Brahmins with such guards as shall afford perfect security to their persons, rites and ceremonies and to the sanctity of the religious edifices, and you will strictly enjoin those under your command to observe your orders on this important subject with the utmost degree of accuracy and vigilance.

8. The Brahmins are supposed to derive considerable profits from the duties levied on pilgrims, it will not therefore be advisable at the present moment to interrupt the system which prevails for the collections of those duties. Any measures calculated to relieve the exactions to which Pilgrims are subjected by the rapacity of the Brahmins would necessarily tend to exasperate the persons whom it must be our

¹² Krishna Chandra seems to be the only Oriya of note to sign this address. He was the head of only one of the thirty-six departments. Most of the other signatories hailed from provinces other than Orissa,

object to conciliate. You will therefore signify to the Brahmins, that it is not your intention to disturb the actual system of collections at the Pagoda. At the same time you will be careful not to contract with the Brahmins any engagements which may limit the power of the British Government, to make such arrangements with respect to that Pagoda or to introduce such a reform of existing abuses and vexations, as may hereafter be deemed advisable.

9. You will assure the Brahmins at the Pagoda of Jaggernaut, that they will not be required to pay any other revenue or tribute to the British Government, than that which they may have been in the habit of paying to the Marhatta Government, and that they will be protected in the exercise of their Religious duties.

10. In every transaction relative to the Pagoda of Jaggernaut, you will consult the Civil Commissioner whom I have named for the settlement of the Province of Cuttack.

11. You will understand that no part of the property, treasure or valuable articles of any kind contained in the Pagoda of Jaggernaut, or in any religious edifice, or possessed by any of the Priests or Brahmins or Persons of any description attached to the temples or religious institutions is to be considered as prize to the Army. All such property must be respected as being consecrated to religious use or by the customs and prejudices of the Hindoos. No account is to be taken of any such property, nor is any person to be allowed to enter the Pagodas or sacred buildings without the express desire of the Bramins.

12. You will leave a sufficient force in the vicinity of Jaggernaut under the Command of an Officer whom you will particularly select and in whom you can place perfect reliance for the due execution of the directions contained in these instructions.”¹³

Intent on accomplishing a peaceful conquest of Cuttack, if possible, and to alienate the local people from their Maratha

¹³ Sec. Cons., 1 March 1804, No. 46, paras 6-12.

rulers Wellesley used diplomacy to reinforce arms and the services of a famous Bengali Pandit were enlisted to remove any doubt that might still lurk in the minds of the temple priests about British intentions. "Jaggernaut of Triveni the oldest and most eminent of the Pandits in Bengal" may safely be identified with the celebrated Jagannath Tarkapanchanan who survived till 1806. Unfortunately, the letter he addressed to "Ramchand and other Bramins residing at the temple of Jaggeranut" has not been preserved but in the English abstract with which Melville and Campbell were furnished, the Pandit

"States from the knowledge which he possesses of the character of the English, he is enabled to assure Ram Chund & Co. that they need not be afraid to form a connection with the British Government, which is distinguished for its peculiar benevolence to its subjects.—Thus satisfied of this truth themselves, they must exert all their powers of persuasion to inspire the respectable characters in that quarter with the same degree of confidence. That it is impossible adequately to express his sense of the excellencies which characterize the disposition of the English; and that the British Government not only permits the Hindoos to enjoy the free exercise of their religion, but manifests the greatest degree of benevolence, favour and indulgence towards them, and all persons of whatever persuasion, rank, or condition in life."¹⁴

Ramchand was not one of the signatories to the letter that Col. Harcourt forwarded to the Governor-General, nor is his name mentioned in the text. For all that we know he might have been a close relation of Krishnachandra Mahapatra and might have been dead since Jagannath Tarkapanchanan's last visit to Puri. Meanwhile, the exertions of the mortal Jagannath were being suitably backed by his divine namesake. On the 11th September a Brahman told Mr. Melville, "that the Bramins at the Holy Temple had consulted and applied to Jaggernaut to inform them what power was now to have his temple under its protection and that he had given a decided answer

¹⁴ Sec. Cons., 1 March 1804, Nos. 12-12 A.

that the English Government was in future to be his guardian.”¹⁵ Whether the reputed invincibility of British arms had anything to do with the deity’s decision did not matter in the least. His predilection for the new power was decisive and we learn from another of Melville’s letters (dated 19th September) that “The letter which Col. Harcourt wrote to the priests of the Temple of Jaggernaut gave them much satisfaction, and they sent a deputation of some of their principal Men to meet him one March distance from the Temple.” Melville further adds “that they appear to consider their being placed under the protection of the British Government as a blessing of Providence.”¹⁶ Col. Harcourt had in fact taken possession of the city of Jagannath on the 18th September and he informs the Governor-General: “Upon application from the Chief Bramins of the Pagoda I have afforded them guards (of Hindoos) and a satisfactory confidence is shown by the Bramins, priests and officers of the Pagoda and by the inhabitants of Jaggernaut both in their present situation and in the future protection of the British Government”¹⁷

The confidence of the Priests were not ill-placed and their expectations were not unjustified. They were not indulging in oriental hyperboles when they expressed their hope that numerous pilgrims will ere long pour into the holy city from Brindaban and Benares, from Ramnath (Rameswaram) and Dwarka. The Maratha Government used to levy a tax of eleven rupees on all pilgrims with the exception of “the notoriously” indigent and an additional levy of 2 rupees per capita was made by the temple officers. The pilgrim tax used to bring a substantial sum (from 2½ to 5 lakhs) to the coffers of the state out of which forty to fifty thousand rupees had to be annually spent at the time of the two principal festivals. The pilgrim tax was for the time being suspended and such was the influx of devotees that Melville deemed it necessary to prohibit export of food grains from the province.¹⁸

This was not the only evidence of the prevailing sense of

¹⁵ Secret Cons., 1 March 1804, No. 13.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* No. 14.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* No. 59.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* Nos. 16-18, and 17 May, Nos. 112-13.

security. The Government used to employ an officer of their own to superintend the management of the temple. Its normal income derived from the daily presents of the devotees was by no means inconsiderable and went to defray the ordinary expenses. The deity had extensive landed property as well. Shivaji Pandit, the officer-in-charge of the temple on behalf of the Maratha Government had absconded on the approach of the British troops. But he soon returned to the city and begged to be restored to his office. Melville had no confidence in him but he was temporarily reinstated so that his knowledge of the previous administration might be fully exploited.¹⁹

Harcourt and Melville received repeated petitions and applications from "the officer and priest of the Temple of Jagernaut requesting the renewal of the toll" (pilgrim tax) a proposal which met with their unqualified support.²⁰ Thus was a bloodless conquest crowned with the spontaneous submission of a contented people. When the Puri priests bore a glowing testimony to the blessings of the British administration Lord Wellesley's diplomacy that did not ignore a retired octogenarian in a Bengal village or the poor pilgrims who visited the holy cities of Orissa, or the priests who had the custody of the great temple, was crowned with its greatest triumph. The conciliation of Orissa was by no means a lesser achievement than the elimination of the Marathas from that province.

DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE

Two letters from Udaipur to Nepal (Documents 20-21).

In September 1838 Rana Sardar Singh²¹ of Mewar addressed two letters to the Raj-guru and the Maharaja of Nepal. The epistles did not reach their destination and were intercepted at Benares. Apparently they were quite innocuous and conveyed nothing but a conventional message of courtesy. Nor was there

¹⁹ Secret Cons. 1 March 1804, Nos. 16-18, 25, 32.

²⁰ *Ibid.* No. 37.

²¹ Maharana Sardar Singh (1838-42), successor and adopted son of Jawan Singh (1828-38). Regarding him see *Vir Vinod* part XVII.

anything clandestine about the mission for the agents of the Nepal Darbar were provided with passports and letters of introduction from the British embassy at Kathmandu ²² and the party had scrupulously kept to the route prescribed. Their object was professedly a matrimonial rather than a political alliance. The heir apparent to the Gurkha throne had attained marriageable age and the Court was anxious to find a bride for him from one of the ruling houses of Rajwara. As Col. Spiers, Political Agent, Udaipur, explained to Col. Alves, Governor-General's Agent for the States of Rajputana—“The Rajahs of Naipaul are said to be descended from a younger branch of the Oodeypoor family and I believe have always, as opportunities offered, kept up a friendly correspondence with each other. The late interchange of presents was, I believe, caused by a proposal made by the Raja of Rewah, to espouse a daughter of the house, which proposal the latter Rajah referred as an act of courtesy to the Ranah of Oodeypur, who is nearly connected with that house and who besides in such cases amongst the families of high ranks with whom he intermarries is generally considered the arbiter of such points.” ²³ The Rana did for historical reasons, enjoy special pre-eminence among the Rajput princes and the Baghela Raja of Rewa had a special claim on Jawan Singh as he had married two princesses of that family.²⁴ Ordinarily the political agent's explanation should have allayed all suspicions on the part of the paramount power. But dark clouds were fast gathering on both the frontiers and disquieting signs of unrest had for sometime past been perceived at the Court of Kathmandu.²⁵ Brian Houghton Hodgson therefore felt uneasy about the recent intimacy between the Maharaja of Nepal and the rulers of the principal Rajput States²⁶ particularly as the latter were precluded

²² Campbell to Macnaghten dated 27 February, 1838 (Secret Consultation 16 May 1838 no. 21).

²³ Col. Spiers to Col. Alves dated 27 March, 1838 (Secret Consultation 13 June 1838 no. 15).

²⁴ *Vir Vinod*, p. 1804. Of the two princesses referred to one was the daughter of Maharaja Jai Singh named Subhadra Kumāri, the other was the daughter of Lakshman Singh, youngest son of Jai Singh.

²⁵ Sir William Hunter—*Life of Brian Houghton Hodgson* pp 133-158.

²⁶ Hodgson to Macnaghten dated 10 April 1838 (Secret Consultation 16 May 1838 No. 27).

from all political intercourse with powers other than the British under the terms of the subsidiary alliance.²⁷

In 1837 the old pilot was let down and what restraint Bhimsen Thappa²⁸ had so long put on the wild ambition of the younger warriors was finally removed. Rumours of impending breach between Burma and the British caused a stir among the Nepalese and an emissary was forthwith sent to the Court of Ava.²⁹ About the same time Nepalese agents set out for Lahore, Herat and the far off countries of Iran and China. Nor were the princes of the Indian plains ignored and negotiations were opened with Udaipur, Jodhpur, Jaipur, Gwalior and Hyderabad.³⁰ Early in 1838 Campbell reported the arrival of "parties conveying letters and presents" from the Rana of Udaipur and the Maharaja of Jaipur.³¹ Later in the year Bhimsen "privately sent secret information to the Resident that the Durbar was prepared for hostilities in October, should the account received from Ava, Peking, and Lahore be favourable by that time".³² Naturally the British authorities were on their guard but if they felt perturbed they did not permit themselves to be stampeded into any hasty action.

²⁷ Most of the Rajput States concluded treaties of subsidiary alliance with the British Government in 1818. One of the principal terms of these treaties was that the contracting state "will not enter into any negotiation with any chief or state without the knowledge and sanction of the British Government". (Aitchison—*Treaties, Engagements and Sanads* Vol. III). The treaty with Mewar was concluded on 13 January, 1818.

²⁸ Prime Minister of Nepal from 1804 to 1839. For an account of his career, see Hunter *op. cit* p. 63 and pp. 99-176. For over thirty years he ruled Nepal "with more than regal sway." His downfall was engineered by the Pande faction which, in collusion with the Senior Queen, got him arrested and imprisoned on July 24, 1837. Two years later he was forced to commit suicide (July 20, 1839). In his report dated July 30, 1839, Hodgson wrote of him, "Nor am I aware of any native statesman of recent times except Ranjit Singh who is . . . worthy to be compared with the late General Bhimsen of Nepal." (Hunter, *op. cit* p. 176).

²⁹ Hunter, *op. cit* p. 164.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Campbell to Government, dated 22 January 1838 (Political Consultation 5 February, 1838 No. 14, Secret Consultation 16 May 1838 No. 12).

³² J. R. Tickel. *Excerpts from the Letters of the Residents at Kathmandu to Government from 1830 to 1840.* p. 81 (quoted in Hunter *op. cit* p. 164) It is learnt from the same source that the "Raja was formally petitioned by a body of Chiefs in Council to expel the Resident at once—a proposition to which he tacitly listened."

Meanwhile the Government kept themselves informed about the progress of the Nepalese Mission. As early as the 27th February 1838 Campbell, then, officiating Resident at Kathmandu, had reported to Macnaghten that he had issued "a Rahadari" or passport in favour of one Bansaraj³³ and his party at the request of the Nepal Darbar. Bansaraj was going to Udaipur with presents from the Maharani³⁴ of Nepal and he was to be accompanied by some of "the Maharaja's private female attendants"³⁵. The Mission was to travel via Bharatpur but the party did not reach Mewar till the month of June. Col. Spiers sent to Col. Alves the following report about the progress of the Mission³⁶.

"The Mission from Nepal aliuded to in the 3rd Paragraph of the Resident at that Courts' letter of the 10th of last April³⁷, arrived in the neighbourhood on the 26th of last month but were not allowed to come on from the Rana having heard that there was a good deal of sickness amongst them and which was said to be Cholera.

On the 3rd instant the Mission entered the town of Oodeypoor and were introduced to His Highness the Rana on the following day, the principal persons belonging to it, viz.,

³³ Campbell to Macnaghten dated 27 February 1838 (Secret Consultation 16 May 1838 No. 21).

³⁴ i. e. the Senior Queen and Chief wife of Rana Rajendra Vikram Shah. She was an ambitious woman and wanted to rule Nepal with the help of the Pande faction through whose agency she tried again and again to encompass the ruin of the Thappa leader, Bhimsen. In April 1840 she planned a romantic outrage on the British frontier and in June an attack on the Residency. But failing in her attempt to keep herself in power she quitted Kathmandu and died on her way to the plains on October 6, 1841 (Hunter, *op. cit.* pp. 144, 177, 183-185, 188, 199).

³⁵ The 'female attendants' included 2 slaves, a learned Brahman lady and a head female domestic of the Nepal palace (Spiers to Alves dated 7 July, 1838, Secret and Separate Consultation—1 August 1838, No. 39).

³⁶ The letter referred to was dated 7 July 1838, and has been recorded in the Secret and Separate Consultation of 1 August, 1838, No. 39.

³⁷ In this letter Hodgson had reported to Macnaghten that the Nepalese Mission to Udaipur was designed to be a permanent one, and that the alleged pretext of marriage negotiations was false. He had also remarked that "the manner in which the Rajput states are falling into correspondence with Nepal deserves attention, since its object is affirmed to be hostility to our Government".

Soobah Kishan Narayun³⁸ and Jemadar Raja Banse Singh,²⁹ on the part of their master the Raja presented one Elephant, Arms, Cloths &c. to the Rana, and for the Ranees His Highness' wives a variety of clothes, two female slaves &c.

The Mission consists of (besides the two individuals above-mentioned) 1 Jemadar,⁴⁰ 8 Havildars and 24 Sepoys, with a number of servants, and four females, two of them the Slaves above mentioned, the account given of the two others, is that one is said to be learned Brahminee, and the other a head female domestic of the Nepaul palace, sent to note the arrangements, ceremonies and proceedings of the female Department of His Highness' household, with the view to their adoption if approved of at Kathmandoo, on their return to that Capital.

No communication took place on the 4th instant with the heads of the Mission and the Rana beyond the usual friendly and complimentary inquiries on such occasions.

Since the receipt of your letter of the 20th February last, I have used my utmost endeavour to discover whether any messages of a nature otherwise than those acknowledged, passed between the parties here, on the arrival of the first despatch of presents for the Rana, but I have not been able to ascertain that anything questionable was said or done.

On talking sometime ago to the authorities here in regard to the expected arrival of the present Mission, they appeared to have no idea of its remaining beyond a short time perhaps to the end of the present rainy season and their returning home again but yesterday evening the Rana's Minister in the course of conversation informed me that the Soobeh or one of the other head people of the Mission had been talking to the Rana's Purohit who is in attendance (as host) on the Nepaulese, as to the expediency of a respectable person on the part of his Master remaining at the Court, to which I understand no reply was given.

³⁸ The same as Suba Krishnanarayana of the Sanskrit documents.

²⁹ The same as Jamadara Vamsaraja of the Sanskrit documents.

⁴⁰ This must be the same as Jamadara Pritama Simha.

On receipt of your letter now under acknowledgement I intimated to the Minister my opinion that the Cultivating any great degree of intimacy with the Nepaul Court at present had better be avoided, upon which he assured me that he was fully satisfied that had His Highness the Rana been aware of my sentiments on this subject at an earlier period, he would have written to the person who was then on his part at Nepal to prevent the despatch of the presents and the Mission, as it was, however, he could not well now (as they had come on so far) send them back without receiving them, but that their stay here should be for as short a period as possible.

The Minister has repeated the same sentiments to me since he communicated with His Highness the Rana on this subject and I have no doubt that the Mission will receive a speedy dismissal from hence.

That there was some foundation for the statement I made to you in my letter of the 27th March last⁴¹, I beg leave to state that the Rana sent me the original letter to his address from the Maharaja of Nepal, and informed me that I might retain it in my possession if I pleased, I took a copy of it (the purport in English of which I enclose)⁴² and returned the original to His Highness.

The Rana also sent me the letter from the Rewah Raja in which he alludes to several of his nearest female relations being unmarried and soliciting the Rana's recollection of them, evidently alluding to some former communication on the

⁴¹ Recorded in Secret Consultation 13 June 1838 No. 5.

⁴² The following is the purport of the *Kharita* in question:—
 'After compliments. Previous to this I deputed one of my Jamadars with a Khareeta and presents for your Highness and hope they have reached you safe ere now. In about two years hence it is my intention to get my son married, should any high and respectable family in your quarters be willing to form a matrimonial alliance with this house, I hope you will let me know. You are well acquainted with the castes and families of Khutrees of Rajputana. I therefore beg that you will make enquiries in Jodhpur, Jeypur, Kotah, Boondee and elsewhere, and if you find any of the Chiefs or nobles of these states are willing to give their daughters in marriage to my son, give me intimation of the circumstances that I may send my people and astrologers to make the preliminary arrangements. Continue to favour me with the news of your welfare. It would be better if you were to reply to this Khareeta by dawk, as in that case it will reach me soon.' (The letter was dated Karttika vadi 14 Samvat 1894 or 27 October 1837).

subject which had passed between them, as this letter contained other matters of a private and family nature I took no copy.

There may possibly have occurred communications of a different nature between these Chiefs besides those of forming alliance with each other, but the authorities of this Court have managed to keep their Counsels more secret on this occasion than they usually do.

The Rana's Minister informed me yesterday that the principal people of the Nepalese Mission wished to pay their respects to me, to which proposal I said I should have no objections whenever it was convenient to them."

For obvious reasons the Governor-General could not permit the appointment of a permanent Nepalese Agent at Udaipur and whatever the ulterior motive the Mission might have there is no evidence to show that the Rana had any share in it. In fact Spiers informed Alves on the 11th of August⁴³ that he had been assured by the Rana's Minister that the Mission would be dismissed as soon as the weather improved. Meanwhile Hodgson had been unrelenting at the other end in his efforts to have Bansaraj recalled and the Maharaja of Nepal ultimately yielded to his representations⁴⁴. But Rana Jawan Singh expired of a brief illness on the 30th August and his successor Sardar Singh did not assume the *gadi* until a week later⁴⁵. Despite the formalities imposed by public mourning the new Rana lost no time in sending the Nepalese envoys on their homeward journey and they left Udaipur on the 5th October⁴⁶. The story however does not end here.

⁴³ Secret Consultation 17 August 1838 No. 187.

⁴⁴ See Macnaghten to Alves dated 1 May 1838 (Secret Consultation 4 July 1838 No. 4); Macnaghten to Hodgson dated 1 May 1838 (Secret Consultation 4 July No. 13); Alves to Spiers dated 12 July 1838 (Secret Consultation 1 August 1839); Hodgson to Macnaghten dated 24 September 1838 (Secret Consultation 17 October No. 163); Hodgson to Spiers dated 1 September 1838 (Secret Consultation, 14 November, 1838 No. 122).

⁴⁵ Spiers to Alves dated 17 September 1838 (Political Consultation 17 October 1838 Nos. 82-83) and Spiers to Hodgson dated 24 September 1838 (Secret Consultation 14 November 1838 No. 122). Spiers informed Col. Alves that Sardar Singh ascended the *gadi* on 7 September although he could not take possession of the palace till 23 October when the heavenly bodies were expected to assume a more favourable aspect.

⁴⁶ Spiers to Hodgson dated 14 October 1838 (Secret Consultation 21 November 1838 No. 169).

Bansaraj had in his train a number of respectable ladies and female attendants. Their presence necessarily hampered the progress of the party and the Nepal Darbar was apparently anxious to conclude the ceremonial preliminaries for the heir apparent's wedding at an early date. Once the ladies returned home the negotiations would have to be postponed until they could again resume a tedious and troublesome journey to Rajwara. Hodgson had therefore to yield to the importunities of the Darbar and to allow Bansaraj to halt at Benares pending the permission of the Governor-General⁴⁷.

At Benares Bansaraj was joined by Capt. Indra Bir Khatri and his sons lately returned from the Court of Herat and Hodgson learnt that Gurkhas were gathering at Benares and Patna in unusual number.⁴⁸ Later he was told that Bansaraj was trying to bring in his train one Laldas, an emissary of the Rana of Udaipur, with presents from His Highness.⁴⁹ Such an action would constitute a flagrant violence of the passport and breach of treaty. Mr. Thomas, Agent at Benares, also had "strong suspicion that he (Bansaraj) was continuing his intrigues here by means of his spies"⁵⁰ and Hodgson came to learn further that among the latest arrivals at the city was Hardatt Pandit, a Nepalese Agent previously detected in a serious intrigue with Appa Saheb of Nagpur. He had been remanded to Nepal by Col. Alves but had evidently succeeded by some clever ruse to evade the order. This information was duly transmitted to Mr. Thomas and he kept a vigilant eye on his movements. "Mr. Hodgson informed me" he says, "that two men were supposed to be proceeding, under Bans Raj's escort, with presents from Oudeypoor, called Chitoor and that such an act being contrary to treaty, these men with the present ought to be detained; and

⁴⁷ Hodgson to Macnaghten dated 17 December 1838 (Political Consultation 2 January 1838 No. 66). See also Hodgson to Spiers dated 24 September 1838 (Secret Consultation 21 November 1838, No. 169).

⁴⁸ Hodgson to Torrens dated 29 January 1839 (Secret Consultation 18 December 1839, No. 85.)

⁴⁹ The same to same dated 30 January (Secret Consultation 18 December 1839, No. 86).

⁵⁰ H. H. Thomas to Torrens dated 14 February 1839 (Secret Consultation 20 March 1839, No. 16).

that this detention might even extend to Buns Raj and his whole party, pending a reference to Government. I was particularly desirous, however, that Buns Raj should not remain at Benares, and I should have contented myself with stopping the men and presents from Oudeypoor, but for the discovery which has been made conceiving that the presents might be more certainly secured after the party should have left Benares, I privately desired the Magistrate to search their baggage at the first police station in the road to Ghazeepore. But the Magistrate had his own reasons for instituting a search; the said Buns Raj having been discovered wandering about the City of Benares, disguised as a Fakeer; and as the Hill people have previously been engaged in swindling practices, he conceived it possible that Buns Raj might have been concerned in similar transactions. The search must therefore be regarded as a mere matter of police; and I have received the Magistrate's official letter, containing his reasons for the search. On the night before Buns Raj received his passport, I sent for him and desired that he would mention the property which he took with him, that I might have the detail entered in that document; but he denied that he carried anything, but articles immediately belonging to himself and followers. The search was conducted by the Magistrate's Assistant Mr. Roberts, before whom he repeated this denial, and frankly produced his boxes for inspection. No presents were forthcoming, except a pair of Gold Bangles, presented to Buns Raj at Oudeypoor; but, most carefully concealed in his bedding and pillow, were discovered sundry letters in silk and muslin bags, some with large Red Wax Seals, addressed to the Nepal Durbar and to the Raj Gooru Rungnath."⁵¹ Such is the history of the two letters now brought to light. As Maddock, Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, wrote to Lt. Col. J. Sutherland, Officiating Agent to the Governor-General: "You will not find in these letters any expression which may lead to the suspicion of a political connection or of designs hostile to the British Government. The

⁵¹ Secret Consultation 20 March 1839, No. 16.

present Maha Rana found upon his accession to the Musnad the Nepalese Agents established at his Capital, the Government of Oodeypore had been required and was pledged to dismiss them and it may not have been unnatural that upon their dismissal notes of friendship should have passed between the parties principally concerned.⁵² So Rana Sardar Singh was exonerated of any disloyal intention or deed.

Of the remaining eleven letters only English translations have survived. In the absence of the original text it is difficult to determine correctly their character and purport particularly as the English translation of the two Sanskrit letters that have come down to us is extremely inaccurate. It is very unlikely that Mehta Ram Singh, Dewan of Mewar,⁵³ and Maharaja Lakshmana Singh,⁵⁴ younger son of the ruler of Rewah should have in any way compromised themselves in the eyes of the British Government by carrying on treasonable correspondence with a foreign power in so open and indiscreet a manner. The first letter of the series intercepted by Mr. Thomas was obviously addressed to the Maharajadhiraj of Nepal by a learned Brahman engaged by his Agents to perform certain propitiatory rites as recitation of Chandi etc.⁵⁵ Reference to an auspicious day in the month of Vaisakh might be without any evil import as a marriage negotiation was in progress.

In any case Hodgson was right when he observed that the letter would probably convey nothing and the real intrigue

⁵² Letter dated 4 April 1839 (Secret Consultation 5 June 1839, Nos. 129-30.)

⁵³ His name appears as the writer of the 7th letter in the group. The English translation as given by Mr. Thomas is as below:—"On Thursday the 10th Buddee of Bhadoon Sree Maha Rana Jee departed this life which occasioned us so much affliction, that it cannot be described. The Huzoor on Friday the 4th Buddee of Assin sat on the *guddee*. Be assured that the usual ceremonies are to be performed according to the custom on this occasion on Friday the 8th Soodee of Kaṛtik. A confidential agent from your Highness has arrived here. He will apprise Your Highness of every account hereof." Secret Consultation 8 May 1839, Nos. 42-43). The letter bore the same date as that of Sardar Singh to Maharaja of Nepal.

⁵⁴ His name appears as the addressee of the 15th letter in the series. The date on the letter is 4th Sudi Magh. The year is not given. (Secret Consultation 8 May 1839, Nos. 42-43).

⁵⁵ For the contents of the letter see *Ibid.*

would be carried on personally by the emissaries of whom Bansaraj appears to have been the principal.

LEGAL DOCUMENTS

The eight *vyavasthapatras* which fall under this group are all concerned with different aspects of Hindu law of inheritance. The contending parties in four cases belonged to the princely houses of India and it is doubtful whether they were governed by the traditional law to which some of them preferred to appeal. The paramount power had to judge each case on its own merit and on considerations of political expediency, and the decisions are not really on the same footing as legal precedents. The legal texts cited in these documents are, however, of a limited value and hardly offer any fair solution to the controversy in question for they were compiled by avowed partisans and not by impartial jurists. Nor is the interpretation put upon isolated passages extracted at random from the *Dharmashastra* works always borne out by a fair scrutiny of the context or by authoritative commentaries. In any case they have to-day lost all interest other than academic.

The Patiala Succession Case (Document 12).

The first case under review comes from Patiala. Maharaja Sahib Singh of Patiala died in 1813 and was succeeded by his eldest son Karam Singh.⁵⁶ Sahib Singh was a man of little ability and less resolution and the administration of his principality had to be entrusted in turn to two ladies of exceptional talent—his

⁵⁶ *Karam Singh*.—(1774-1845), Son of Saheb Singh by Aus Kaur. At the outset he was largely influenced by his mother and her minister, Nannidh Rai, but within five years of his accession he freed himself from this tutelage, and assumed the reins of Government for himself. During the Nepal War he aided the British Government with troops, and on the termination of the war received two Sanads conferring on him portions of the Keonthal and the Baghat States in return for a payment of two lakhs and eighty thousand rupees. In 1821 he was involved in a dispute with his mother, but in the end he succeeded in thwarting the latter's extravagant claims with the support of the British Government. In 1827 he lent to the British Government a sum of 20 lakhs of rupees. He advanced to the same Government another sum of 25 lakhs in 1839 and a further sum of 5 lakhs in 1843 in connection with the Afghan War. Two years later he died. (Griffin, *The Rajas of the Punjab*; Aitelson, *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads* Vol. I, p. 117; I. R. D. Pol. Progs 1812-1845; *Gazetteer of the Phulkian States*—published by the Punjab Government, 1909).

sister Rani Sahib Kaur⁵⁷ and his wife Rani Aus Kaur.⁵⁸ But Sahib Singh was prone to listen to the evil advice of designing courtiers and often attempted to upset the arrangements to which he had been a willing party. The services of Rani Sahib Kaur were repaid by base ingratitude and the wife fared no better than the sister. A *jagir* had been granted to Rani Aus Kaur and her son Prince Karam Singh during the life time of the imbecile ruler and the Rani had been invested with absolute authority with the support of the paramount power before Sahib Singh had passed away. The succession of Karam Singh⁵⁹ was therefore uncontested but the claims of a younger step-brother Ajit Singh,⁶⁰ then a minor, found strong support in an influential faction. In 1820 Ajit Singh left Patiala with his mother and took up his

⁵⁷ *Rani Sahib Kaur*, was wife of Sardar Jaimal Singh Kanheya, the ruler of a great part of the Bari Doab. She was a lady with exceptional ability. She came to Patiala in response to an appeal for help from her brother and was immediately invested by him with the supreme authority. In 1794 she repulsed a Maratha force led by Anant Rao and Lachhman Rao and in 1796 led an expedition against the rebels at Nahan and brought the disturbance under control. The next year she led the combined army of Jhind and Patiala against the formidable forces of George Thomas, and although she was worsted in the ensuing combat she succeeded in making a treaty of friendship with that military adventurer. Soon after this she incurred the displeasure of her brother and was obliged to leave Patiala. Her last days were passed in Bhirian where she died in 1799. Griffin, *op. cit.*

⁵⁸ *Rani Aus Kaur*, was married to Sahib Singh in 1792 and bore him in 1797 his son and heir Karam Singh. In 1798 she coalesced with courtiers of her husband to bring about the downfall of Sahib Kaur. This was followed by prolonged dissensions between the Rani and her husband which reached a climax in 1805 when the Rani attacked both Nabha and Jhind, the rulers of which states were in collusion with the Patiala Chief. The dissensions were at last settled by the intervention of Ranjit Singh who appeared at Patiala in 1805 and 1807. Banur and other tracts yielding a Revenue of Rs. 50,000 a year were settled on the Rani for her maintenance and that of her son Karam Singh. Internal confusions, however, continued and were terminated only after the establishment of the Rani as Regent in June 1812 through the intervention of the British agent. The Rani showed considerable administrative ability and ruled with efficiency till her husband's death in 1813. She continued to influence her son Karam Singh's administration, but the latter gradually freed himself from her tutelage, and in 1821 an open dispute took place between the mother and the son. A compromise however was ultimately arrived at through the intervention of the British Government, under which the Rani was put in possession of an estate worth Rs. 50,000 and received the fort and town of Sonour from her son. Griffin, *op. cit.*

⁵⁹ The chief protagonist of this move was Rani Khem Kaur, a widow of Raja Amar Singh who tried to place Ajit Singh on the throne with the help of Raja Jashvant Singh of Nabha. The intrigues were however foiled, as the British Agent recognised Karam Singh as the lawful heir.

residence at Delhi.⁶⁰ Karam Singh tried his best to conciliate the disgruntled prince and offered him a substantial *jagir*,⁶¹ but nothing short of a partition of the entire state would satisfy the ambitious young man and his partisans. He contended that “in the event of the death of a Sikh Chief the sons on taking possession of the wealth and territory of their Father, either divide it equally amongst all the parties (which is the practice in our family) or adopt the Joondah woond which is an equal division of the property amongst the Rannies who have families by the deceased, without regard to the number of children.”⁶² It was further argued that “in this country the inheritance does not necessarily fall either to the elder or younger son, and every son who during the life time of his father accepts of a provision and separates himself from the rest of the family, thereby forfeits all claims to a share of the remaining property. This practice is general throughout the States in this part of the country.”⁶³ It was in support of the latter contention that the evidence of the sacred books of the Hindus, as interpreted by five learned Brahmins of Delhi, was called into service. Maharaaja Karam Singh on the contrary wrote to Sir David Ochterlony in another connection—“It is evidently the custom amongst the higher Sirdars of the Phoolkee family for the eldest son to succeed to the Raj and Chieftainship, the younger members being provided for by a Jageer suitable to their rank in the state. The Chiefs of less consequence in this family who are my relations divide the property in equal portions amongst the sons of the deceased. It must be observed however that the customs of the Sikhs of the Manjah Doabah and those of the country who live on the banks of the Jamnum in the territory of the Manjah Dooabah vary considerably.”⁶⁴

Despite the qualified contradiction quoted above Ajit Singh's case was not so weak as it might at first sight appear. Among

⁶⁰ *The Rajas of the Punjab*, p. 168.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* pp. 168-169.

⁶² Ajit Singh's statement .(received June 6, 1825)—Pol. Progs. 9 Dec. 1825, No. 11..

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ Recorded in Pol. Progs. 9 Dec. 1828 No. 11,

the Rajput princes the law of primogeniture had been with rare exception long in force, but the markedly democratic ideals of the Sikh society favoured the more equitable system of equal partition of the paternal estate among all the sons irrespective of the status of the father. Sir Lepel Griffin observes that "before Ala Singh's death, the rule which prevailed in the Phulkian family, as among the Jat Sikhs generally, was that of equal division between the sons; and among the smaller Phulkian families, this custom, more or less modified, obtains to the present day. Nabha, Jhind and Patiala alone of the thirteen Phulkian houses assert the rule of primogeniture, and even these have, more than once, endeavoured to set it aside."⁶⁵

In 1825 when Ajit Singh's claim to an equal share of his father's estate with his elder brother was under consideration the law of primogeniture could hardly be said to have been fairly established in the three major Phulkian states. Sahib Singh's father Raja Amar Singh had an elder brother Himmat Singh and though his mother was wedded according to the less reputable *chadar dalna* rites, his legitimacy was beyond dispute.⁶⁶ Amar Singh's succession to his grandfather Ala Singh was not therefore in strict accordance with the law of primogeniture. When Gajpat Singh of Jhind died in 1791 his estates were divided between his sons Bhag Singh and Bhup Singh.⁶⁷ This case and several others were indeed cited by Ajit Singh to reinforce his arguments.⁶⁸ But the Government of India in their anxiety to maintain the integrity of the states definitely discountenanced any further dismemberment to which the prevalent Sikh practice would inevitably lead and when Bhag Singh proposed to exclude his eldest son from the *gadi* of Jhind by a written testament in favour of his second son, Pratab Singh, the paramount power deliberately withheld the necessary sanction.⁶⁹ That was in 1813 and they were not likely to revise their policy so soon when the largest Phulkian state was concerned.

⁶⁵ *The Rajas of the Punjab*, p. 14.

⁶⁶ *Ibid* pp. 30-31

⁶⁷ *Ibid* p. 319

⁶⁸ Pol. Progs, 9 Dec. 1825 No. 11

⁶⁹ Government of India to Col. Ochterlony dated 15 May 1813, quoted in *the Rajas of the Punjab*, (pp.339-41)

Of the five Pandits of Delhi who subscribed to the legal opinion submitted by Ajit Singh we know nothing. One of them Ramprasad Bhatacharj was probably a Bengalee resident of the imperial city. On the copy of the Sanskrit *vyavasthapatra* printed in this volume only four names—Thakurdas, Ramprasad Bhatacharj, Nika Mishra and Ramkrishna occur. An additional name Karunasindhu is appended to the English translation⁷⁰ of the document from which it appears that Nika Mishra was also known as Lachhman Pant.

According to Charles Elliott, the Governor General's Agent, only two points demanded consideration in relation to Ajit Singh's memorial. "Is the half Brother of Maharaja Karam Sing justified in assuming the title of Maharaja, or is his proper designation that of Koor Ajeet Sing ?" "Is the British Government prepared to enter on an investigation of his claim to be put in possession of half the Patiala Raj ?"⁷¹

The British Government saw no harm in Ajit Singh's assumption of a courtesy title in consonance with the custom of the country particularly as the neighbouring princes and some of the highest officers of the government had more than once made that concession in his favour. Nor were they totally averse to an enquiry into the points raised by him. Ajit Singh's plea however found no favour with the Governor General and his political advisers despite the solemn dictum of the learned doctors of law and the formidable array of carefully selected precedents.⁷² His claims were finally rejected in 1825 and Ajit Singh was formally reconciled to his brother when an estate yielding an annual income of 50 thousand rupees was granted to him. The amicable settlement of the dispute was naturally welcome to the British Government of India and received their prompt approval.

⁷⁰ Pol. Progs. 9 Dec. 1825 No. 11

⁷¹ Sir Charles Elliott to Government dated the 6th April 1825 (Pol. Progs, 9 Dec. 1825 No. 11)

⁷² Swinton to Metcalfe dated the 9th December 1825 (Pol. Progs, 9 Dec. 1825 No. 12).

⁷³ Pol. Letter from Court No. 13 of 1830.

Tai Sahiba and Baya Sahiba (Document 23)

The next document moots an important and interesting point. Did the Hindu law-givers of old intend that for purposes of inheritance the masculine should also signify the feminine? The Indian Penal Code has a definite provision to that effect and it has been specifically laid down that "the pronoun he and its derivatives are used of any person, whether male or female."⁷⁴ But the Hindu criminal laws did not always recognise the principle that the sex of the offending person should have nothing to do in the determination of the penalty. Was the same discrimination to be made in cases of civil rights? Or were the man and woman to have identical status in the eye of law? That is the question indirectly raised in the two letters. Balvantrao Bhavani Athavale addressed to the Commissioner at Bithur and the Governor-General on behalf of his minor grand daughters Tai Sahiba and Baya Sahiba. The letters state the case of the young ladies in a straightforward and unambiguous manner and may be quoted in full:—

(i)

From Tai Sahiba and Baya Sahiba auras-putras and recognised daughters of late Maharaja Baji Rao, Peshwa, inhabitants of Bithaur, District Cawnpore, through their maternal grand-father and guardian Balwant Rao Bhawani, dated 26 June 1853 to the Governor-General.—

On 25th October 1851, Mr. Moreland, the Commissioner, read out to Dhondu Pant your orders of the 3rd October 1851 that a maintenance allowance for him from the Government treasury had been refused on the ground that it had been previously decided that the adopted sons would not be recognised. We two daughters of the Peshwa and our two step-mothers and other dependents were in receipt of 8 lakhs of rupees annually for our expenses till 2½ years ago. That allowance has been stopped by the Company. We therefore submit that in reply to the late Peshwa's application the Company had intimated to

⁷⁴ Act XLV, 1860 Chapter II, Sec. 8.

him through the governor of Calcutta that they would provide 8 lakhs of rupees annually for maintenance, and the Governor-General would consider the question of an increase of the amount. That increase has not been sanctioned till to-day. On the contrary they have stopped the sum of 8 lakhs which they had agreed to pay at that time for the maintenance of himself (Peshwa) and his dependents, although these latter are all alive. What is the reason of this? That application should be consulted and taken into considerations. This has been written for your information because it was necessary.

Signed—Balvantrao Athavale
(in his own hand).

(2)

From the same to the Governor-General dated 26 June 1853.

Apprehending that some courts might dispense justice in the case of the two daughters (*Baba Jan*) and punish the misappropriation of the minors' property, Nana Dhondu Pant with the advice of his friends decided that just as he contrived by trickery to seize possession of our wealth so also he would constitute himself the guardian and manager of Tai Sahiba so that he might not be called upon to render the accounts, in the event of his own claims being rejected in England. And by the time Tai Sahiba attained majority he would devise some means to do away with the life of the two heiresses. By this means he would continue to enjoy possession of their wealth. With this end in view he disposed of promissory notes worth $2\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs, and with the money he has deputed some European as the *vukil* and a Muhammadan as a *mukhtar* to England. It is necessary therefore to write that Dhondu Pant Nana is a cheat. This is not our opinion only. Our father was also certain of this, and considering him to be an enemy, allowed him no hand in his affairs. Dhondu Pant's workers are even greater cheats than he, and the Company's servants are in collusion with them. If you become our guardian and make some settlement (*document worn out*). Dhondu Pant Nana is no manager or guardian of ours.

Our father, the aforesaid Maharaja had appointed our maternal grand-father and our maternal uncle as our guardians, according to the *Shastras*. They are the accredited agents of all our affairs from here to England. You please write to England that the case of the *auras-putras* is pending here; the case of the adopted son of the Peshwa should not be heard till this suit is decided and that if the opposite party represents himself as guardian and manager of the *auras* he should be punished (*worn out*). The relevant extract from the *Shastra* written in Sanskrit is enclosed herewith for perusal. Signed—Balvantrao Athavale (in his own hand).

Pers. Original Receipts 18 July 1853.

Baji Rao II died in 1851. Of his eleven wives⁷⁵ only two Maina Bai and Sai Bai survived him. Of the offsprings of his body all but two daughters Yoga Bai and Kusma Bai died in his life time. Kusma Bai is better known as Baya Bai and Tai Sahiba of the above correspondence must therefore be identified with Yoga Bai. Their mother Ganga Bai, daughter of Balvantrao Athavale, had long predeceased her husband. Of the three adopted sons, Dhondopant Nana Sahib, Sadashivarao Dada Sahib and Gangan-dhar Rao Bala Sahib—the first and the last alone were alive at the time of Baji Rao's death. Sadashivarao had left a son Pandurang Rao by name.

Shortly after his father's death Dhondopant Nana represented to the British Government that the ex-Peshwa's pension should be continued to him.⁷⁶ But the Governor-General decided otherwise. He was of opinion that "the adopted son and dependents of Baji Rao have no claim on the British Government."⁷⁷ This decision was communicated to Nana Sahib in October 1851 and was confirmed by the Court of Directors in their despatch

⁷⁵ On the subject of Baji Rao's descendants see Letter from E. H. Moreland to J. Thornton dated 17 August 1851 (Pol. Progs. 3 Oct. 1851 Nos. 8-11); and Sardesai—*Marathi Riyasat*. Pt. III, Vol 3, (Ch. XVIII).

⁷⁶ *Yaddasht* of Nana Saheb to Moreland dated 29 July 1851 (Pol. Progs. 3 Oct. Nos. 8-11).

⁷⁷ Lord Dalhousie's Minute dated 15 Sept. 1851 (Pol. Progs. 3 Oct. 1851 Nos. 8-11).

No. 16 of 1852.⁷⁸ It is not however correct to assert that the "adopted sons would not be recognised." Lord Dalhousie's minute on the subject runs as follows:—

"For thirty three years the Peshwa received an annual clear stipend of £80,000 besides the proceeds of his Jageer. In that time he received the enormous sum of more than two millions and a half sterling. He had no charges to maintain, he has left no sons of his own; and has bequeathed property to the amount of twenty eight lacs to his family.

Those who remain have no claim whatever on the consideration of the British Government. They have no claim on its charity, because the income left to them is amply sufficient for them. If it were not ample, the Peshwa out of his vast revenues ought to have made it so; and the probability is that the property left is in reality much larger than it is avowed to be. Wherefore under any circumstances the family have no claim upon the Government; and I will by no means consent to any portion of the public revenues being conferred upon it. I request that this determination of the Government of India may be explicitly declared to the family without delay."

Apparently the surviving wives and daughters were not pulling on well with Nana Sahib at the time and when his appeal to the Court of Directors failed,⁷⁹ they decided to press their own claims.⁸⁰ The daughters obviously fastened their hopes on the Governor-General's reference to lack of sons and the anonymous *vyavasthapatra* appended to their memorial strove to establish that according to Hindu Law the word son implies all issues irrespective of their sex. If that contention

⁷⁸ Political Despatch from Court No. 16, 1852.

⁷⁹ Political Cons. 1 July 1853, No. 68.

⁸⁰ Secretary in the Foreign Department to the Government of the North Western Provinces dated 21 May 1852 (Pol. Cons. 21 May 1852 No. 195), Political Despatch to Court No. 17, dated 3 March 1853; Political Despatch to Court No. 44, dated 3 June 1853; Raja Anand Rao Bhonsla to Secretary to the Government of Bengal (Foreign Cons. 12 Aug. 1853 No. 113); Order of Government dated 12 Aug. 1853 (Foreign Cons. 12 Aug. 1853 No. 144); Petition from Maina Bai and Sai Bai dated 1 June 1853; Secretary in the Foreign Department to the Secretary to the Government of North-Western Provinces dated 4 Nov. 1853.

was accepted the situation would radically alter and the daughters would be the rightful heir of their deceased father in lieu of Nana. For the claims of the "aurasa-putra" or the son legitimately begotten by the father have always been recognised as superior to that of the "dattaka putra" or adopted son. An apposite precedent would be found in the case of Baji Rao and Amrit Rao, the "aurasa putra" and "dattaka putra," respectively of Raghunath Rao. Unfortunately other papers relating to this novel claim put forward by and on behalf of Yoga Bai and Baya Bai have not been preserved but it can be safely inferred that their plea was rejected, for the Government wanted Baji Rao's widows to acknowledge Nana Sahib as the duly adopted son of Baji Rao. In their Political Despatch No. 35 of 1853 the Directors observed. "These ladies claim a pension from Government to which they are in no way entitled, and the inheritance of the ex-Peshwa of whom they are not the legal heirs. They also complain of oppressive treatment by Dhundoo Panth. From this they have a just claim to be protected; but as a preliminary it is necessary that they should acknowledge Dhundoo Panth the adopted son of Baji Rao and the head of the family, which we perceive that hitherto they have refused to do". It may be added that in all official communications Nana Sahib has been invariably designated as Baji Rao's adopted son.

Whatever the grounds of their original antagonism the sisters and the mothers were finally reconciled to Nana for they shared his misfortunes after the Mutiny and followed him to far off Nepal^{80a}. Yoga Bai and Baya Bai later rejoined their respective husband, the former expired in 1880 while the latter survived till 19th June 1917—a sad relic of a forgotten past and a living monument to the inconstancy of fleeting fortune.

Rani Sukhan's Petition (Document 13).

When a deceased husband's estate is partitioned between two widows does each moiety acquire the legal status of an independent entity or do they still continue to be parts of the original whole? Or in other words in case of the death of one of them

^{80a.} Sardesai. *op. cit.*

is the surviving widow entitled to inherit her deceased co-wife's share of the husband's property? This was the point at issue in the Buria or, to be more accurate, Jagadhri case.

Sardar Bhagwan Singh, *Jagirdar* of Jagadhri, of the junior branch of the Buria family founded by Nanu Singh Bhangi, died⁸¹ in or about 1812. He left an infant son Jawahir Singh and two widows Rani Daya Kunwar, a princess of the Patiala family, and Rani Sukhan, mother of the minor prince. Daya Kunwar was a lady of recognised ability⁸² and had administered her husband's estate even during his life time. Sir David Ochterlony, unaware of the existence of the junior Rani and under the wrong impression that Daya Kunwar was the mother of Bhagwan Singh's heir, recognised her title to manage the estate for the minor. The baby however died a few months later but Rani Sukhan was held in close restraint and was not in a position to make any representation to the Governor-General's Agent. In 1817 her case came before Sir David Ochterlony, and he frankly confessed that his sanction of Daya Kunwar's regency was accorded in ignorance of the actual facts.⁸³ He admitted that the Sikh custom invariably supported the mother's right to the regency during the minority of the son. But the minor was already dead, and although the partisans of Rani Sukhan argued that as the heiress of her son she was entitled to the entire estate, Sir David suggested that the estate should be managed by Daya Kunwar as previously and the income should be equally divided between the two widows. Rani Sukhan however was guaranteed a reversionary right to the whole property in case she survived the senior widow.⁸⁴ These terms she persistently rejected.⁸⁵ The senior Rani apparently welcom-

⁸¹ D. Ochterlony's statement on the Buriya case (Pol. Progs. 7 Nov. 1817, No. 68.)

⁸² See also *Ludhiana Agency Records* 1808-09, p. 50 (Ochterlony to Edmonstone, 4 Feby. 1809.)

⁸³ Ochterlony to Secretary Adam dated 4 Oct. 1817 (Pol. Progs. 7 Nov. 1817, No. 68).

⁸⁴ Ochterlony's proposal dated 26 Sept. 1817.

⁸⁵ Ochterlony to Birch dated 29 Sept. 1820:

Ochterlony to Birch dated 17 Nov. 1820 (Pol. Progs. 16 Aug. 1828, No. 16).

Ochterlony's letter dated 9 May 1822 to Government (Pol. Cons. 3 June 1820, No. 12.)

ed the suggestion and the Supreme Government authorised Ochterlony to give effect to his proposal "notwithstanding the rejection of the terms by the younger Rani". The arrangement however did not work. Daya Kunwar had accepted it with a mental reservation, confident that once she was placed in charge of the estate it would not be difficult to defraud her rival of her legitimate dues. She evaded rendering "the account of the revenue and expenditure since the death of her husband" for a long time and when at last she submitted her books they were found to be entirely false. In his letter dated 9 May addressed to the Supreme Government, Ochterlony confessed that his confidence in "the supreme understanding, goodsense, and good management of the Ranees", was ill founded. He was chagrined to discover that "Her avarice combined with dislike to Sookhan had induced her to do everything in her power to evade the decisions of the most noble the Governor General in Council and to withhold from her rival and enemy not only the moiety of the treasures and jewels which she is justly entitled to but the very necessaries of life". The Supreme Government had therefore no option but to direct the division of Bhagwan Singh's estates "between the two Ranees" (Pol. Cons. 3 June 1820, No. 12). The estates were therefore partitioned between the two widows with the sole exception of Jagadhri. The town of Jagadhri, in view of its special importance, was held jointly by both the Ranis, though the management was left to Daya Kunwar who had her residence there. Sukhan's agents however were permitted to watch the collection and examine the accounts.⁸⁶

In 1828 Rani Daya Kunwar died⁸⁷ and the British Government decided to resume her moiety of the Jagir. Rani Sukhan registered her protest against this decision⁸⁸ and sent her acre-

⁸⁶ Resident at Delhi to Capt Murray dated 4 May 1826 (Pol. Progs. 16 Aug. 1828, No. 16.)

⁸⁷ She died on 14 April 1828 according to Rani Sukhan's 1st petition to Governor-General (Recd. 2nd June 1828)—Pol. Progs. 11 July 1828, No. 22.

⁸⁸ Colebrooke to Secretary Stirling dated 23 May and enclosures—(Pol. Progs. 13 June 1828, Nos. 17-18.)

Rani Sukhan's petition to Governor-General (Recd. 2 June 1828)—Pol. Progs. 11 July 1828, No. 22.

dited agent, Ghulam Bhika, to plead with the British authorities.⁸⁹ Among the papers produced in support of her claims was the *vyavasthapatra* now brought to light. She did not rely solely on the ancient legal texts but cited a number of cases which she or her advisers considered to be relevant. They laid special emphasis on Sir David Ochterlony's assurance that should she outlive the senior widow the entire estate would revert to her.

The Governor General in Council do not appear to have taken the *vyavasthapatra* seriously into consideration. The Rani was informed that Sir David's guarantee was conditional on maintaining the estate intact and she could not benefit by an offer which she had deliberately rejected. By the very act of partition Daya Kunwar's share of the estate had acquired a separate and independent entity to which Rani Sukhan could have no inherent legal claim.⁹⁰

The only part of the *jagir* jointly held by the two widows was Jagadhri, a commercial town of considerable importance. The British Government were reluctant to place the town under Rani Sukhan's administration as they feared that the commercial interests would suffer in her hands. But they readily conceded that the revenue of the town should now revert to her in consonance with Sir David Ochterlony's original offer.⁹¹

The decision was obviously based more on expediency than on law or custom, as Gulab Singh of the main branch of the Buria family was permitted to inherit his brother Jaimal's share of the partitioned estate on the death of the latter in 1816. The entire *Jagir* would, in any case, lapse to the Government on Rani Sukhan's death and for her comfort and sustenance a moiety had been found sufficient during the preceding eight years.

⁸⁹ Rani Sukhan's petition (Recd. 18 July 1829) and urzee of Ghulam Bhika, Agent deputed by the Rani; (Recd. 11 Aug. 1829)—(Pol. Progs. 14 Oct. 1829, Nos. 147-49.)

⁹⁰ Pol. Progs. 9 May 1828, Nos. 17-18. Stirling to Colebrooke 16 Aug. 1828 (Pol. Cons. 16 Aug. 1828 No. 67.)

⁹¹ Pol. Progs. 14 Oct. 1829, No. 150.

The Charkhari Succession Case (Document 19.)

Charkhari is a small Bundela principality held by a scion of the illustrious house of Chhatarasal. The Bundela princes had scant regard for the law of primogeniture and preferred partition of the paternal state though the process was not always peaceful. The extensive territories of Chhatarasal thus inevitably disintegrated in course of time into numerous petty principalities and Charkhari fell to the share of one of his many great grandsons, Khuman Singh.⁹² Of Khuman Singh's brothers we are concerned with only two, Prithi Singh was assigned a distinct *jagir* and separated from his elder brother, but Dhund Singh chose to cast his lot with the ruler of Charkhari. Khuman Singh was succeeded by his son Bijaya Bahadur,⁹³ while Dhund Singh had two legitimate male offspring, Lachhman Singh and Indrajit Singh. Khet Singh of our records was the son of the former. Bijaya Bahadur had no less than three legitimate sons but all of them predeceased him. The bereaved father then applied himself to diverting the succession in favour of a natural son, Ranjit Singh born of a servant girl. Ranjit Singh also died when his father was still alive and Bijaya Bahadur nominated Ranjit's son, Ratan, a minor of six, as his heir and successor and this nomination was duly approved by the paramount power.⁹⁴ Lachhman Singh, Bijaya Bahadur's

⁹² 'Shumāna Simha' of the document. According to the Genealogical tree of the Charkhari family given by Luard (*Central India State Gazetteer*, Vol. VI-A) he was the second son of Kirat Singh. Kirat Singh had predeceased his father Jagat Raj. The latter's death in 1758 was followed by a war of succession between his son, Pahad Singh on the one hand and Khuman Singh and his brother, Guman Singh on the other. In 1761 the quarrel was patched up, and Khuman Singh was assigned the territory of Charkhari with its revenue of nine lakh rupees (Luard, *op. cit.* p. 208).

⁹³ Also known as Bije Vikramjit (Vijaya-Vikramaditya). He was ousted from his territory by Arjun Singh of Banda, but in 1789 he joined Ali Bahadur and Himmat Bahadur in their invasion of Bundelkhand. In return for his services he received from the former a *sanad* for the Charkhari fort (1798). In 1803 he allied himself with the English and obtained from them a *sanad* confirming him in his possession in 1804. He was a patron of literature and author of a book of devotion entitled *Vikrāma-biradavali*. Died in 1829 (Luard *op. cit.* p. 209).

⁹⁴ Lt. Moodie to Government dated 8 April 1822 (Pol. Cons. 4 May 1822 Nos. 93-95) and Government to Lt. Moodie dated 4 May 1822 (Pol. Cons. 4 May 1822 No. 95).

cousin, treated this nomination as an infringement of his legitimate rights.⁹⁵ He left the state in protest and submitted a memorial to the British Government.⁹⁶ His contention was that the ruler of a Bundela principality was not entitled to dispose of the succession as he liked. His authority in this respect was strictly circumscribed by family tradition and local custom and in the absence of a legitimate heir of the ruling prince's body the *gadi* devolved automatically on the seniormost member of the collateral branch, for the bar sinister was for ever a bar absolute in a princely family, and a son born out of wedlock had no claim to the father's throne. As for the members of the collateral branches those who lived in a joint family with the prince concerned had precedence over those who had formally separated from him, for the latter were held to have renounced all claim to the joint estate in lieu of the portion sequestered in their favour. Bijaya Bahadur, though a man of fairly advanced years, survived the formal recognition of Ratan Singh as his heir-apparent for seven years, but Lachhman died in the meantime.⁹⁷ His rights were inherited by his son Khet Singh,⁹⁸ who was unrelenting in his efforts to undo the *fait accompli*.⁹⁹ His appeal to the brother princes met with a ready response and seven Bundela Chieftains headed by Raja Bikramjit Mahendra of Orcha, the premier Raja of Bundelkhand, testified to the validity of his claims.¹⁰⁰ A

⁹⁵ Lt. Moodie to Lachhman Singh dated 29 April 1822 (Pol. Cons. 30 Nov. 1835 No. 15) and ditto to Government dated 1 August 1823 (Pol. Con. 24 Oct. 1823 Nos. 53-56)

⁹⁶ It appears from Khet Singh's memorial dated 10 May 1826 to Lord Amherst (Pol. Cons. 30 Nov. 1835 No. 15, that Lachhman Singh left for Benares as early as 1820 and submitted his claims to Mr J. Majoribanks, the Agent of the Governor-General in Bundelkhand. He presented a second petition in July 1821, which met with the same fate as the first one. He appears to have finally retired to Cawnpore sometime after 29 April 1822. See also Lt. Moodie's letter to Lachhman Singh dated 29 April 1822 (Pol. Cons. 30 Nov. 1835 No. 15).

⁹⁷ Khet Singh's memorial dated 10 May 1826.

⁹⁸ In his petition of July 1821 Lachhman Singh is said to have declared that he had transferred all his rights to Khet Singh and to have claimed for the latter 'the succession to the Raj of Charkary (sic) after the death of the Present Rajah.' (Khet Singh's memorial dated 10 May 1826.)

⁹⁹ For a succinct account of the efforts made by Khet Singh in this behalf see Lord Bentinck's Minute dated 8 Jan. 1830 (Pol. Cons. 8 Jan. 1830 No. 90).

¹⁰⁰ The testimony was enclosed with Khet Singh's petition dated 10 May 1826 (Pol. Cons. 30 Nov. 1835 No. 15).

natural son, they affirmed, had no right to a Bundela *gadi* and Khet Singh, according to them, was the rightful heir of Bijaya Bahadur. The testimony of the Bundela princes referred only to the family custom and Khet Singh offered to abide by their arbitration but the British Government did not deem it expedient to reopen this inconvenient question particularly after the formal accession of Ratan Singh to the Charkhari State.¹⁰¹ Khet Singh maintained that even the traditional law of the land was averse to the decision of the British Government, and appealed first to Colebrooke's *Mitaksharā* (obviously his *Digest*)¹⁰² and later produced a *vyavasthapatra*¹⁰³ or authoritative exposition of the law signed by several learned scholars either attached to the Sanskrit College or to the Law Courts of Benares.¹⁰⁴ The Pandits testifying to the cause of Khet Singh represented different provinces of India. Kasinath Ashtaputre obviously hailed from Maharashtra and Krishna Charan Sarma¹⁰⁵ was doubtless a Bengalee as his signature is in modern Bengali script. Hirananda Chaturvedi was probably a native of the United Provinces of today and Shaligram Pandit was probably the official adviser to the British Judge as he described himself as a *Prādīvāka*. The English translation mentions Subba Shastri, apparently a Dravid scholar, but his signature is not to be found in the original document.

¹⁰¹ The petition was rejected by the Government of India on 7 July 1826 (Pol. Cons. 14 July 1826 Nos. 65-67).

¹⁰² The passages referred to were as follows :—

“Sec. 9 paras 2—3 page 357.

2. Effects which had been divided and which are again mixed together, are termed reunited. He to whom such appertain is a reunited partner.
3. That cannot take place with any person indifferently but only with a father, a brother or a parental uncle—Vrihaspati declares “He who being once separated unite again through affection with his father, brother or parental uncle, is termed reunited.”

“Sec. 12 paras 1 & 3 page 376.

1—Having thus explained partition of heritage, the author next propounds the evidence by which may be proved in a case of doubt “when partition” is denied the fact of it may be ascertained by the evidence of kinsmen, relatives and witness etc.—by written proof or by separate possession of house or field. (Khet Singh's Memorial of 10 May 1826).”

¹⁰³ This was enclosed by him with his letter to Sir Charles Metcalfe sometime before 26 Oct. 1835 (Pol. Cons. 30 Nov. 1835 No. 14).

¹⁰⁴ They are described as ‘Pandits of the Adawlaot of Benares’ in the English translation (Pol. Cons. 30 Nov. 1835 No 14).

¹⁰⁵ In the English translation he is described as bearing the surname ‘Bhattacharyya.’

The action of the Government was admittedly hasty and the justice of their decision not beyond dispute. The Government of India observed that if Ratan Singh's claims were negatived Prithi Singh's descendants would have precedence over those of Dhund Singh, from whom Khet Singh derived his rights.¹⁰⁶ This argument could no longer have any force when Prithi Singh's heirs subscribed to a paper upholding Khet Singh's claims.¹⁰⁷ When the disappointed prince preferred an appeal to the Court of Directors¹⁰⁸ he was told that if he had suffered any wrong it was not due to any action of theirs ; the responsibility was to be laid at the door of Bijaya Bahadur.¹⁰⁹ But the nomination of the doting grandfather would have little force in law and fact if it had not been confirmed by the paramount power.

Lord Bentinck frankly admitted that the Government case was far from strong. "I am compelled to state", he writes, that "in my opinion Dewan Khet Singh has good ground, for being dissatisfied with the determination of Government." The Governor-General then goes on to show that in the letter of Lt. Moodie, Acting Agent of the Governor General in Bundelkhand, conveying the desire of Raja Bijaya Bahadur "that his grandson Rutton Singh should be considered as Heir to his Possesstions in the event of his not leaving a legitimate son by one of his Ranees", "no mention however is made of the claims of the present applicant, or of other branches of the family". "It appears too from the same letter that there are no doubts of some form having been wanting to legalise the marriage of Rajah Bejoy Behadoor with the grand-

¹⁰⁶ Stirling to Khet Singh dated 7 July 1826 (Pol. Cons. 14 July Nos. 65-67.)

¹⁰⁷ This paper was given to Khet Singh on 'Kartik Sudi 3rd V.S. 1891' (4 Nov. 1834) by "Rao Benee Bahadoor Jue Dev, Representative of the family of Prithee Singh", and it was forwarded by him to the Governor-General with his memorial (dated 1 Dec. 1834). In this paper Benee Bahadur stated, "We are six brothers and we acknowledge that we have now no claim to the guddee and that we do not pretend to dispute the right with Dewan Khet Singh" (Pol. Cons. 30 Nov. 1835 No. 15).

¹⁰⁸ This was done in 1833. The memorial itself is recorded in the Political Progs 30 Nov. 1835 No. 15.

¹⁰⁹ Political Despatch from Court No. 19, 1837.

mother of Rutton Sing and that consequently that person was not legitimately descended from the Rajah notwithstanding that Person's assertion to the contrary. On this point however, the Rajah's own letter is conclusive evidence", "As I have before said", continued Lord Bentinck, "I think that Khet Singh has good Grounds for being dissatisfied with the decision of Government and although I am of Opinion that the recognition of Bejoy Behadoor's illegitimate grandson was too hastily sanctioned, I do not contemplate any alteration of that measure; from the document filed by the petitioner it is pretty clear I think that, without our support the present Occupant Rajah Bejoy Behadoor having lately died and Ruttun Singh having succeeded him could not maintain himself in possession of the Raj against Khet Singh's claims, and that we are consequently bound to require that a liberal allowance should be made from the proceeds of the Estate for the support of the latter". The Governor-General concluded that "all the circumstances of the case being considered, an allowance of Twelve Thousand Rupees per Annum should be allotted for Khet Singh's support".¹¹⁰

In passing one may be permitted to wonder why the Governor-General went out of his way to use the good offices of Raja Kali Shankar Ghoshal¹¹¹ to induce Khet Singh to accept this allowance and then decline to forward his appeal to the Court of Directors. Raja Kali Shankar was in all probability acting in Khet Singh's interest and it is not quite unlikely that the Governor-General might have informally given expression to his personal feelings as to the merit of the case as he did in his minute.

Khet Singh was not unwilling to accept the allowance but when the Governor-General's Agent wanted him to return to Charkhari and swear fealty to Raja Ratan Singh he flatly

¹¹⁰ Pol. Cons. 8 Jan. No. 90.

¹¹¹ This is what Raja Kali Shankar Ghoshal wrote to Brigadier General White in this connexion: "Lord William Bentinck employed me to prevail on Khet Singh to take the thousand rupees. He told me that Khet Singh's claim was just, but that as the act of appointing Ruttun Sing was done by his Predecessor, he could not alter it. He advised Khet Singh to appeal to the King in Council and said he had little doubt that he would recover his Rauj." (Pol. Cons. 30 Nov. 1835 No 14).

refused.¹¹² In no case would he demean himself by acknowledging as his sovereign and chief a youngster of tainted origin and expose himself to the risk of being put to death at his rival's convenience by transferring his residence to Charkhari.

The case however had a happy ending. If the settled fact could not be unsettled and the state of Charkhari restored to him, Khet Singh was called upon by Lord Ellenborough, as a descendant of Chhatrasal, to rule over another Bundela State, Jaitpur, in 1842.¹¹³ The State lapsed to the paramount power when he died without issue. Not so Charkhari. In 1880 Ratan Singh's son Jai Singh poisoned himself, his widow adopted Malkhan Singh, a descendant of Prithi Singh, and on his death in 1908 his father Juji Kar Singh was permitted to inherit the *gadi*.¹¹⁴ Thus did the legitimate representatives of Kirat Singh's family come to their own.

Documents 1, 11, 18 and 25.

Of the remaining four *vyavasthapatras* No. 1 deals with the validity of an adoption and incidentally discusses the question whether a brother's son enjoys in the eye of law the rights and status of a son in relation to a person without any issue. It has not been possible to identify the parties concerned, nor is it known how the point at issue was decided. But the case was obviously of some importance and the estates under dispute not inconsiderable as the Governor-General took the trouble of referring it to Raja Chait Singh of Benares, with a view to eliciting the views of the learned Brahmans of the holy city. In his letter dated September 4, 1778 Warren Hastings informed the Raja that the case before the Council was one that should best be left for the judgment of the Pandits. He therefore requested the Raja to place the letter before the learned scholars of Benares and obtain their considered opinion on the subject. The case briefly told is as follows: Two brothers are in joint possession of an

¹¹² Khet Singh's petition to the Governor-General written sometime before 13 May 1833. (Pol. Cons. 30 Nov. 1835 No. 15).

¹¹³ Pol. Cons. 14 Dec. 1842 Nos. 132, 133, 14 June 1843 Nos. 795, 815 and 816.

¹¹⁴ Aitchison, *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, Vol. V, p. 23.

ancestral zamindari. One of them was without any issue while the other had several sons legitimately begotten. The first adopted a son though his nephews were alive. Is the adoption valid and will the adopted son inherit his adoptive father's share of the family estates and thus exclude the legitimate sons of the other brother from that part of the joint property ?¹¹⁵ Chait Singh's reply forwarding the *vyavasthapatra* in question was received at Calcutta on November 7 within two months of the enquiry. "I have received your letter accompanying a question of law to be settled by the Pandits. I invited the distinguished Pandits of Benares and put the question to them. They considered it from every point of view in the light of the *Sastra* and have arrived at an unanimous decision. I am sending their verdict on a separate piece of paper duly signed by them. It is hoped that the Pandits of Calcutta will be able to explain it to you."¹¹⁶

In 1778 Calcutta could not claim to be as distinguished a seat of Sanskrit learning as Benares or Nabadwip. The reference of a highly controversial question to the legal luminaries of Benares therefore meant no slur on Bengalee scholarship and the signatories really represented the elite of that city, for many of them appended their signatures to the memorandum of 1787 (document No. 2) testifying to the meritorious deeds of Warren Hastings.

The unanimous verdict was in favour of the adoption.

Another *vyavasthapatra* (Document 11) relates to the joint property held by Nagar Brahmans. The subject of enquiry is whether an estate held in common by five Nagar brothers and their sister should escheat to the King on the failure of male heirs? Document 18 raises a question of much wider implication. Can a grant made to a Brahman scholar for the maintenance of his family escheat to the State at any time under any circumstance? While Document 11 bears the signature of five Brahman scholars of Benares, the majority of whom seems to have come from the south if their surnames offer any sure clue to

¹¹⁵ Copies of Persian Letters issued, Vol. 10, p. 101 No. 163. English Translation of Persian Letters issued, Vol. 17 pp. 43-4 No. 69.

¹¹⁶ Original Persian Letter Received, 1778, No. 101.

the region of their origin, the value of Document 18 rests entirely on the authorities and the texts cited, for it derives no additional importance from the support of any contemporary jurist of repute. But if we know nothing about the Nagar Brahman family for whose benefit the former paper was drawn, it is not impossible to establish the identity of the parties that submitted the anonymous one. On the docket of this document are found two names, those of Lakshmi Bai and Amba Ram Shastri. Among the records of the Government of India are several petitions¹¹⁷ from these two persons, mother and son, for the partial restoration of a pension which had been granted to Amba Ram's father, Vyankat Ram, in lieu of rent-free lands granted to his grandfather, another Vyankat Ram Shastri, by the Peshawa Balaji Baji Rao in recognition of his piety and erudition. The hereditary *inam* lands confirmed by successive rulers were sequestrated after the annexation of the Peshawa's territories. The petitioners belonged to the city of Mandleshwar in Central India and had travelled to Calcutta to present their case before the Governor-General in Council and for some time resided in the Jorasanko area of the town. Their claims were supported by Mr. F. H. Sandys,¹¹⁸ Assistant to the Resident at Indore, even after the Governor-General in Council had refused to reconsider the earlier decision. But it is not known whether a more compassionate view of the case was subsequently taken. In any case the injunctions of the sacred books had but little influence on the Governor-General and his Councillors.

The last paper of this group, Document 25, was submitted by a Punjabi Brahman, Murari by name, in support of his appeal against the judgment of the Deputy Commissioner, Gurdaspur, which was later upheld by Mr. Robert Montgomery, Judicial Commissioner of the Punjab. Murari's father had two wives, by whom he had three sons, Murari and his step-brothers Khushal and Narain. They were priests by profession and

¹¹⁷ Pol. Cons. 10 Dec. 1834 No. 42; 8 June 1835 Nos. 20-21 and 15 June 1835 Nos. 112-114.

¹¹⁸ Sandys to Macnaghten 20 March and 12 May 1835 (Pol. Cons. 8 June 1835 No. 21); Sandys to John Bax, Resident at Indore dated 12 May (Pol. Co. ns. 15 June 1835 No. 113).

during the father's life time it was decided by him that the perquisites of his office should be divided equally between Murari on the one hand and Khushal and Narain on the other *i.e.* Murari should perform the professional duties for his father's clients for fifteen days every month, while the remaining half of the month would be allotted to his step-brothers. After their father's death Khushal and Narain refused to abide by this arrangement and the matter went to the court. In his application for revision of the judgment Murari contended that both the local custom and the traditional law were in his favour. Raghunāthanandana Bhattachārya referred to in the first of the 'legal texts' was no other than the famous Smārta Raghunandana. It is remarkable that his authority should be cited in a law suit in the Punjab. Obviously legal learning did not recognise provincial limits and wandered far afield in search of favourable texts. It is to be noted that in the Patiala succession case also Prince Ajit Singh made a similar plea, but this document has ceased to be of any practical interest to-day.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

Three Petitions from Kanhardas (Documents 5, 6 and 7.)

Kanhardas, a Brahman youth of Gwalior, came to Benares in the eighties of the eighteenth century, to complete his education. He had brought some money with him to defray his expenses and when his slender funds were exhausted, earned an easy living, as many of his fellow students in like circumstances doubtless did, by reciting the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata* to the devout people of the holy city. Lodging probably offered no serious difficulty to a Brahman seeker of learning in those charitable days. When the first of the following letters was penned Kanhardas used to lodge at the Daranagar residence of Mankumari in the neighbourhood of Vriddhakaleswara temple.¹¹⁹ Mankumari

¹¹⁹ On Vriddhakaleswara temple see Sherring, *Sacred City of the Hindus* and Nevill, *Gazetteer of the Benares District*. The temple lies just to the north of Bishweshwarganj, close by the old tank known as "Hara Tirath" (Haratirtha) and is reported to be one of the oldest Hindu edifices in Benares.

seems to have been a lady of affluence as she was the *guru* of Raja Chait Singh's mother.¹²⁰ Kanhardas probably joined the Sanskrit Pathsala founded by Jonathan Duncan in 1792,¹²¹ for reference is made to the professors in charge of the Pathsala in the second letter. The course of studies that he had chosen for his own was a lengthy one. The hardworking Brahman was already twenty-six and had yet five years to complete his favourite studies. He had not started his scholastic career late. Seven diligent years, three at his native city and four at a now-forgotten seat of learning, Sihumda, had he devoted to the cultivation of his mind before he turned his ambitious steps towards the farfamed seminaries at the confluence of Varuna and Asi. There he had spent another nine years of studious labour and if things had gone well he might have commenced the struggle for worldly existence armed with a Benares Degree at the youthful age of thirty one ! Happily the universities of to-day are less exacting and release their alumni much earlier. At twenty six an unforeseen misfortune befell our student. His arduous labours had evidently told upon his health and half an hour's writing and an hour's reading would cause severe headache and the weary eyes of the unhappy patient would start profusely streaming. Strive as he might he could not even glance through the learned tomes he had so assiduously perused. Such medical remedies as his means permitted proved of little avail. When at the tether's end he sought inspiration from his favourite *Sastras* and concluded that to the ruler of the land alone could he turn for succour in his distress, for had not Śri Kṛiṣṇa himself observed in the second half of the tenth section of the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata* that it is the supreme duty of the King to relieve the distressed. Charity finds its own reward in untarnished fame in this world and eternal bliss in the next. Witness the glorious instances of Hariśchandra, Rantideva, Mudgala, Śibi, Bali and the charitable pigeon. To Kanhardas

¹²⁰ i.e. widow of Raja Balavant Singh. Her name is not known, but she is probably the same lady whom R. N. Rattray referred to in his letter dated 23 March 1813 to John Monckton (I. R. D. Foreign Misc. Series No. 76).

¹²¹ On this point see Page 50 ff *infra*.

Sir John Shore was a “*svarāt*,” a king in his own right, a *bhūpa* a ruler of the realm, *avanīpuram̄dara*, Lord of the World and the Governor-General was above all the only refuge of the learned (*vidushāmekamāśrayam*). He, therefore, addressed two letters to Sir John Shore imploring his assistance in his afflictions. If the Governor-General condescended to recommend the poor suppliant to a European officer at Benares the latter would probably provide for his food and clothing as well as for the treatment of his eyes. If his ailments were cured he proposed to complete his studies in five years and wherever he might subsequently go his blessings would for ever attend the Governor-General, whose eulogies he would everywhere sing. If perchance his sight did not improve he would spend his remaining years at Benares ever praying for the well-being of his benefactor. Although he was not in any way acquainted with Sir John the fame of his sympathy for the indigent induced him to present his case for the Governor-General's consideration.

The letters bear no date but from an entry in English at the end it appears that the first was received on the 8th November, 1796 (probably) at the Resident's office at Benares and it reached the headquarters a week later. This conjecture is corroborated by the second letter, for *Kārttikasudi ashtamī* corresponds to the 8th November. The second letter arrived at Calcutta on the 30th May of the next year. Kanhardas gratefully acknowledges Sir John's kindness and refers to his visit to Benares on his way to Lucknow in January, 1797 (*pausamāsasya saptamyām guruvāsare*). The third and the last of the series addressed to the members of the Supreme Council (received on the 22nd May, 1798) after Sir John Shore had relinquished office and sailed for home (12th March, 1798) also proves that the poor Brahman's prayer did not go unheeded. The paper on which it was written testifies to the improvement in the writer's finances, for unlike the previous epistles it is liberally bespangled with tiny diamonds in gold. The gratitude of the Brahman had meanwhile elevated Shore to the rank and status of an emperor and he tells the Councillors that the Governor-General had made some provision for him at Benares wherefrom he had derived considerable benefit. Subse-

quently, great favours were conferred on him by the sovereign of Bundelkhand who also entrusted him with some presents for Sir John Shore. He, however, learnt that Sir John had left for home and requested the Councillors to direct him as to whom and where the presents should be delivered.

Few, if any, student, however poor, would to-day dream of bringing his woes to the notice of so exalted a personage as the Governor-General. But in the early days of the British empire in India the Governor-Generals did not rule in splendid isolation. The European community even in the Presidency towns of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay was very small and tradition demanded that the first executive officer in the land should not be entirely indifferent to the sorrows and joys of the Indian notables. Thus, when a marriage was celebrated in an aristocratic family of Clacutta or an heir was born to a nobleman of Murshidabad the Governor-General was expected to send a letter of congratulations and the customary *khelat*. Even an opulent banker of Benares was consoled in his bereavement with a sympathetic letter and a robe of honour from the Governor-General.¹²² Benares was in those days far off from Calcutta, but the highest officials were not less accessible to the poorest citizens than they are to-day. The civil servants of the East India Company had perforce to spend their best years in India and during their long sojourn they learnt to respect the customs and traditions of the country. It is to be noted that not one of the three letters bearing the name of Kanhardas was accompanied by an English translation. We have a Persian version of the first but the other two were unprovided with any such key. Sir John Shore was well versed in the ancient lores of the east. He was no stranger to the charms of Persian poetry or the sublime speculations of Hindu philosophy. Once he actually contemplated an English translation of the *Yoga-Vāśishṭha Rāmāyaṇa* and his correspondence bears ample testimony to his profound knowledge of the classics¹²³. It

¹²² See *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. VII, No. 1214.

¹²³ *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. XVIII and *Memoir of the Life and Correspondence of John, Lord Teignmouth*, Vol. I.

was in recognition of his uncommon erudition that the Governor-General had been elected to succeed Sir William Jones as President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Sir John Shore could very well be expected to appreciate the five laudatory verses with which Kanhardas prefaced his first letter and when the number of the verses was increased to nine in the second, the ardent student of oriental styles was probably satisfied as to his correspondent's merit and worth. The student paid no formal compliment to his noble benefactor when he addressed Sir John Shore as *vidvaajjana-kamalakula-prakāsanamārtāñdamūrtī*.

Did Kanhardas appeal to his natural liege lord in the first instance? We do not know. Daulat Rao Sindhia was a powerful prince, but in November 1796 he was away from his capital. The future of the Maratha empire and the ruling house of Poona was then hanging in the balance and the heir of Mahadaji Sindhia could not afford to remain an indifferent spectator. In his own interest he had to play an effective part in the making and unmaking of governments and then followed in quick succession a dispute for the Holkar's *musnad* and the rebellion of the Bais. From 1796 to 1798 Daulat Rao was too occupied with the distracting problems of the Maratha state to attend to the needs of an ailing student at Benares. It is extremely doubtful whether Kanhardas's letter, if one was ever addressed, could reach the ruler of Gwalior in the far off Deccan.

Who was the King of Bundelkhand who befriended the indigent Brahman? There were more than a dozen Bundela principalities, big and small. Some of them acknowledged the political suzerainty of the Sindhia, others were directly under the Peshwa's hegemony. It may not be profitable at this distance of time to speculate about the identity of the prince whose munificence led the grateful scholar to indulge in undue exaggeration, that identified a part with the whole. But one may perhaps be permitted to hazard a guess. Hirde Shah, the founder of the ruling house of Panna, bore the title of Raja of Bundelkhand and Dhokul Singh, his descendant, might by right of inheritance claim that dignity. He was, however, completely under the domination of Ali Bahadur, Nawab of Banda, and representative

of the Poona Government in Bundelkhand. Chatrasal Bundela professed to treat Baji Rao I as one of his sons and had formally bequeathed one third of his territories to the Brahman general. Ali Bahadur, as the Peshwa's grandson, might be appropriately styled as *Bundelekhaṇḍākhyarashṭrādhiśa*. This hypothesis further gains in strength if Sihumda of the first letter is identified with Sihonda a town in the Banda District, which was part of Ali Bahadur's dominions. It was the headquarters of a pargana under Akbar and a capital under the Rajas of Banda.¹²⁴ Ali Bahadur, an heir of Brahman tradition, a representative of a Brahman state, might have befriended a Brahman student who once prosecuted his studies at Sihonda.

We do not know whether Kanhardas employed a skilled scribe to write his petition to so high a personage as the Governor-General. The letters form good specimens of Devanagari calligraphy and seem to be in the same hand. The writing is neat and legible but the text is not entirely free from slips of pen. One peculiar use of a purely Sanskrit word deserves particular notice specially as the writer happened to be a genuine student of Sanskrit. Kanhardas calls his letter an *ārjavapatra*, but *ārjava* used in its original sense is hardly appropriate. On the other hand if it is treated as a sanskritised form of a common Persian word, *araz*, it fully accords with the real character of the letters. Kanhardas exercises the time-honoured prerogative of a Brahman when he offers his benedictions to the Governor-General and his Councillors irrespective of their age, rank and status.

Kasinath Pandit's Petition (Document 8.)

Most Indians in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries used courtly Persian in their official correspondence, a few preferred their mother-tongue and a microscopic minority, learned Brahmins as a rule, had recourse to classical Sanskrit. So far only one instance of a bilingual letter addressed to the Governor-General of the day in which the Persian text is prefaced by two

¹²⁴ *District Gazetteers of the United Provinces*, Vol. XXI, pp. 289-90.

laudatory Sanskrit verses in a sonorous and difficult metre (*Sragdharda*) has come to our notice. The writer, Kasinath Pandit, was the first Rector¹²⁵ or the head preceptor, as he is variously styled in contemporary records, of the Sanskrit College or Pathsala founded by Jonathan Duncan at Benares and held that office for nearly a decade. We know very little or nothing about him except that under his administration the Pathsala belied the high hopes of the well-meaning founders and became an object of common ridicule. Kasinath's scholarship has not been called into question by any of his critics. He was in all probability a native of Bengal, as one of the eight¹²⁶ foundation professors of the Pathsala, Syamananda Bhattacharji, is described as "son of Kashinath". Among the pilgrims and pandits who in 1787 bore testimony to the character and good government of Warren Hastings we come across two Kasinaths who subscribe themselves as Maithil and Sarma respectively.¹²⁷ Of these, Kasinath Sarma is probably our man. It is extremely unlikely that a person of his ambition and enterprise would keep aloof from a movement set on foot to vindicate the character and administration of an ex-Governor-General¹²⁸ and a Maithil's son does not usually call himself a Bhattacharji. "Sero Shastri Guru Tarkalankar Cashinath Pandit Juder Bedea Behadut" is probably

¹²⁵ Pol. Cons. 16 April 1801 No. 110, and George Nicholl's *History of the Benares College*, p. 4.

¹²⁶ In Nicholl's work the other names are given as "Bireshur Sheth, (Bireshwar Shesh ?) Professor of the large Vyakarana of Panini and the Bhasya of the Rigveda," "Ramchandra Tara, Professor of the Veda and Vedanta," "Soolepa (Sooba ?) Shastri, Professor of the Mimamsa," "Gossain Anandgir, Professor of the Purans and Cabe (Kavya) Shastra," "Luchmipat Joshi, Professor of the Jorish Shastra," "Gangaram Bhat, Professor of the Vaya (Ayurveda) Shastra," and "Ramprashad Tarka Panchanan, Professor of Nyayasastra."

¹²⁷ DOCUMENT 3 in the present collection.

¹²⁸ As a matter of fact in the Sanskrit letter of congratulation addressed to Hastings by the Benares Pandits on 'the 7th of the light fortnight of the moon of Phalgoona in the 1852 of the Samvat' (15 March 1796) his name appears at the head of the other signatories. The original letter is not traceable among the archives of the Government of India, but a translation of it will be found in the *Debates of the House of Lords* (1797), pp. 755-768. Here, his name is followed by the designation "Professor of General Knowledge" as well as his seal, wherein he is described as 'Ornament of Logic and among Pandits called the Chief of Science' (*Vide* 'The Testimonials of good conduct to Warren Hastings by the Benares Pandits' by P. K. Gode, M.A., in *Journal of the Tanjore S. M. Library*, Vol. II, No. 1).

the nineteenth century English corruption of the Persian equivalent of Sirah Sastri Guru Pandit Kasinath Tarkalankar Yajurvedi.

Whether the idea of founding a Government school for Sanskrit studies at Benares on the analogy of the Madrasa at Calcutta really originated with Kasinath we do not know. But in the absence of any evidence to the contrary we need not summarily dismiss his claim as absolutely unfounded. Charles Wilkins probably experienced some difficulty in securing the services of a competent Brahman scholar,¹²⁹ for in those days orthodox Brahmins would not ordinarily agree to interpret their sacred rites and doctrines to a Christian student. Even a personage of Sir William Jones's rank met with rebuff from certain Pandits of the more cosmopolitan and less exclusive city of Calcutta. Our records are silent about Wilkins's suggestion to Warren Hastings, Kasinath's contemplated journey to Calcutta and his conversation with Jonathan Duncan. All that we definitely know is that Duncan suggested to Lord Cornwallis in a letter dated 1st January, 1792, that a part of "the surplus Revenue expected to be derived from the permanent settlement" "could not be applied to more general advantage or with more local propriety than by the Institution of a Hindoo College or Academy for the preservation and cultivation of the Laws, Literature and Religion of that nation, at this centre of their faith and the common resort of all their tribes."¹³⁰ Duncan believed that two very desirable objects would be simultaneously attained by the foundation of such an Academy. The services of the professors and students might be utilised for the collection and transcription of rare Sanskrit treatises on religion, laws, sciences and arts and a valuable manuscript library might thus be "accumulated at only a small expense to Government."¹³¹ The British Government

¹²⁹ That Kasinath was closely associated with Wilkins is attested by the following passage in the Commentary on Govardhana Kaul's paper on the Literature of the Hindus published in *Asiatic Researches* Vol. I 'When Casi-natha Serman who attended Mr. Wilkins was asked what he thought of the Paniniya he answered very expressively "It was a forest." (p. 351).

¹³⁰ *Selections from Educational Records*, Part I, p. 10.

¹³¹ *Ibid.* p. 11.

would thus gain great credit and popularity with the Hindus in general by outdoing their own princes in their zeal for the preservation and propagation of Hindu learning, and the college in due course would be "a nursery of future doctors and expounders of Hindu Law, to assist the European Judges in the due, regular, and uniform administration of its genuine letter and spirit to the body of the people". Such advantages could be secured according to Duncan's estimate at the comparatively moderate cost of rupees 14,000 per annum. The Governor-General readily approved of the scheme and authorised the Resident to increase the establishment to Sicca Rupees 20,000 per annum "from the commencement of the Fussly year 1200" "provided upon the arrival of that period you shall be of opinion (of which you will advise us) that the surplus collections will be adequate to the payment of the amount."¹³² So in due course the Sanskrit Pathsala was started with eight professors and Kasinath as Head Preceptor. If he had really exerted himself heart and soul for ten years with a view to establishing a Sanskrit Academy, his labours found ample reward in the monthly emoluments of rupees 200 besides the prestige and patronage associated with the preceptor's office.

The Governor-General in Council was the official visitor of the newly-founded institution, but the Resident, as his Deputy, was the person really responsible for the success of the scheme. Duncan took every care not to offend the religious susceptibilities of the Brahmans on whose co-operation the future of the Pathsala largely depended. One of the rules framed by him definitely laid down that "the Professor of Medicine must be a Vaidya, and so may the teacher of Grammar; but as he could not teach Pāṇini, it would be better that all except the physician, should be Brahmans". The next rule provided that the Brahman teachers were to have preference over "strangers" in succeeding to the headship, and it was also decided that the discipline of the college should conform in every respect to the edicts of Manu and the examination of students in "the more secret branches of learning

¹³² *Selections from Educational Records*, Part I, pp. 12-13.

were to be conducted periodically by a committee of Brahmans" and the professors were not expected to impart lessons in sacerdotal subjects in the presence of non-Brahmans.¹³³ Hindu sentiments were, therefore, fully taken into account and all possible concessions were made to Brahman prejudices in recruiting professors and in framing regulations. There is reason to suspect that even the professorship of medicine went to a member of the priestly caste.¹³⁴

The college records are wanting for the first seven years, and it is not clear when exactly its affairs took an unhappy turn. Duncan left Benares in 1795 and in 1798 the supervision of the college was vested in a Committee consisting of G. F. Cherry, Samuel Davis and Captain Wilford.¹³⁵ Cherry was a Persian scholar of some repute and met with a tragic end at Benares in January 1799. Davis had interested himself in the study of Hindu astronomy and Wilford, a devoted student of Sanskrit, was appointed the Secretary of the Committee. He was originally appointed to survey the boundaries between the British districts and the Nawab Vizier's territories, but the Oudh officers offered all sorts of obstacles to him and his work had to be suspended.¹³⁶ Meanwhile he had made good use of his enforced rest, and Jonathan Duncan suggested to Sir John Shore that Wilford should be permitted to continue at Benares and complete his researches. In a minute dated 13th June 1794, Sir John Shore recommended that "Wilford be allowed to remain in Benares in his present situation with an additional allowance of Rs. 600 p.m., as a recompense for the expense and labour of procuring materials for and

¹³³ *Selections from Educational Records*, Part I, pp. 11-12 and Nicholls, *op. cit.* p. 9.

¹³⁴ Gangaram Bhatt who was appointed to the post seems to be identical with the Pandit who signed as "Gangaram Sharma" on the Sanskrit address referred to in note 128 *Supra*. His name appears as 'Bhutt Gangaram' in the list of signatories to the Sanskrit Memorandum addressed by the 'Maharashtra and Nagara' Brahmans of Benares on 16 Nov. 1787 (DOCUMENT 2 in the present collection).

¹³⁵ Nicholl's *op. cit.*, p.5.

¹³⁶ Wilford to Duncan dated 10 May 1794. Pub. Cons. 1794, Pub. Cons. 1794 13 June No. 8 and Duncan to Shore 4 June 1794. Pub. Cons. 1794 13 June No. 7.

prosecuting in the above city or elsewhere an enquiry into the knowledge of the Hindus in Geography as well as other branches of science and also into their ancient History.”¹³⁷ The personnel of the Committee was, therefore, judiciously selected and its enquiries revealed a sad state of things.

On the 13th March 1801, the Committee (meanwhile Cherry and Davis had been replaced by Neave and Deane) reported that “of 202 scholars mentioned in the Bill of Kasinath, the Head Preceptor, only fifty or thereabout attended regularly, that 50 or 70 more attended once or twice a month and the remainder had hardly been heard of even by name. It further appeared that for these 5 or 6 years there had only been eleven instead of twelve Pandits in the College and that the head Preceptor Kasinath had entered the name of a fictitious Pandit in order to receive his allowance”.¹³⁸ Kasinath was further guilty of contumacy and refused to prepare the pay-roll in accordance with the instructions of the Committee. He was thereupon dismissed¹³⁹ and ordered to make over the property of the Pathsala to Jata-Sankar Pandit. Kasinath’s defence is offered in the bilingual letter addressed to Lord Mornington.

That Kasinath had been guilty of serious malversation admits of no doubt. But in fairness to him it should be pointed out that he had for his colleagues persons far from competent or responsible. Soon after Lord Mornington’s arrival in India (the letter was received on the 3rd August 1798), Kasinath complained to the Governor-General that “During the last four months five of the twelve Pundits attached to this Madrasa having entered into collusion have been in the practice of going daily to the Omlah of several of the Gentlemen here, in consequence of which the duties of the Madrasa are impeded. They disregarded

¹³⁷ Pub. Cons. 18 June 1794 No 9.

¹³⁸ Pol. Cons. 1801, 16 April No 110.

¹³⁹ This occurred in April 1801 (Pol. Progs. 16 April 1801). For Jata-Sankar’s appointment see Pol. Cons. 3 June 1801 No 34. He may reasonably be identified with “Deeksheeta Jata Sankara, Professor of the Rig Veda”, who was also a signatory to the Sanskrit address referred to in Note 128 *Supra*. He was replaced by Pandit Ramananda sometime after July 1802 (Nicholls, *op. cit.*, pp. 12 and 14).

my remonstrances on the subject. I have already mentioned this circumstance to the Gentlemen of the Court of Appeal as well as to the judge of this District who intimated to me in reply that they could not act in the instance without order from Government. I have therefore to request that your Lordship will authorise either the gentlemen of the Court of Appeal or the Judge of this District to investigate the circumstance and to do whatever may appear to them to be proper".¹⁴⁰ It appears that the professors were permitted to hold their classes at their respective residences and though in complete conformity with the old traditions of the country this practice was hardly conducive to strict discipline. Obviously such discipline as was originally observed quickly deteriorated after Mr. Duncan's departure.

Of the foundation-professors Ram Prasad Tarkalankar¹⁴¹ (also styled as Tarka-Panchanan) enjoyed the reputation of a learned and conscientious scholar, but he was an octogenarian at the time of his appointment. Vireswar Pandit, Suba Sastri¹⁴² and Jata-Sankar wanted that their pupils' stipends should be paid to them, a claim which the Committee was unable to uphold. According to Mr. Brooke, (who officiated as President of the Committee in 1804) Jata-Sankar's reputation for learning and his general respectability did not justify his appointment to the Rector's office.¹⁴³ In 1813 the new Rector¹⁴⁴ complained against Vireswar Pandit, Sivanath Pandit¹⁴⁵ and Jayaram Bhatta¹⁴⁶ for dereliction of duty. Kasinath's unfavourable reference to Sivanath Pandit's activities may not, therefore, have been altogether unmerited. In any case the position of the

¹⁴⁰ Secret Cons. 4 Jan. 1799, No 8.

¹⁴¹ *Nicholls, op. cit.* pp.4 and 7. He was the Professor of *Nyayaśāstra*. He retired in April 1813 at the age of 103 and was granted a pension of Rs 50 per month.

¹⁴² Professor of *Mimāṃsā*. He was dismissed in 1799. (*Nicholls op. cit.* p.14.) He may be identified with the Dravid scholar mentioned in p. 39.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.* p. 10.

¹⁴⁴ i.e. Pandit Ramananda. He was a native of Jaipur.

¹⁴⁵ Professor of Religious duties. (*Nicholls op. cit.* p.7). Probably the same as Sivanath Tarkabhusan of the Sanskrit Memorandum drawn up by the 'Bengali' Pandits of Benares in 1787 (DOCUMENT 3 in the present collection).

¹⁴⁶ Professor of *Yajurveda* (*Nicholls op. cit.* p.7). His name also appears among the signatories to the Sanskrit Address of 1796 (vide Note 128 *Supra*) as well as the Sanskrit Memorandum of 1787 (vide DOCUMENT 2).

leader of such a team was far from enviable, and Kasinath's failure to run the college on proper lines might not have been due to his own delinquency alone though his stewardship of the college funds was by no means creditable. He has been accused of substantially reducing the original salaries of the professors, but with the limited funds at his disposal he could not possibly raise the number of professors from eight to twelve without a cut in their pay.

At least one statement of Kasinath has been fully corroborated by the Committee. He complained that the monthly grant of the College had been withheld by Captain Wilford since September 1799. The Committee in its letter to the Chief Secretary to the Government admits that the establishment of the College has been many months in arrears and as on the 30th May 1801, a bill was presented for the allowance of the entire year of 1800,¹⁴⁷ Kasinath's charges do not appear to be unduly exaggerated. It does not redound to the credit of the Committee that it should permit the professors' pay to fall in arrears for more than twelve months since its appointment in 1793.

Kasinath's removal from the Rector's office did not improve the administration or the general reputation of the college. His temporary successor Jata-Sankar was a man of indifferent ability, the Committee's supervision was neither efficient nor effective and the early history of the Sanskrit Pathsala does more credit to Jonathan Duncan's heart than to his discrimination.

(The petition)

Sir,

I beg to state that Mr. Wilford, in order to take possession of the *pathsala* withheld its *mushabara* from the begining of September 1799 and thought that the students not getting their *mushabara* would absent themselves (from attending the classes). Hearing this I tried my best to run the institution and to maintain the attendance as usual. One year after Siva Nath Pandit instigated the Pandits of my *pathsala* and one day in my absence he showed Mr. Hawkins¹⁴⁸ 68 students as absentees. Having

¹⁴⁷ Pol. Cons. 16 April 1801, No. 110, and Nicholls, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

¹⁴⁸ F. Hawkins, Judge of Benares from 1800.

learnt this my students in a body presented an *aazi* before Mr Hawkins and Mr. Wilford saying that in fact they were present but they have been shown as absentees by the Pandits simply to turn them (the students) against me and to bring them under control, but their representations went unheeded. This fact is a well-known affair in Benares. I have already represented this fact to you for your consideration. Now on 28 April 1801, I received a *parwana* informing me that under instructions from you my *pathsala* has been closed and directing me to make over the books, furniture, etc., of the *pathsala* to Jaya (Jata) Sañkar Pandit. I accordingly made over the articles to the aforesaid Pandit. If it is your wish to hand over the control of the *pathsala* to Mr. Wilford, I have nothing to say in the matter. I beg further to say that Mr. Charles Wilkins came to Benares in order to study the *Sastras*. He sent for many learned Pandits and requested them to teach him the subject. Some of them did not agree to take up the work while others failed to do it efficiently. Mr. Wilkins then summoned me for the purpose. By the grace of God I taught him the subject within a short time. With a view to disseminating the knowledge of the *Sastras* I spoke to Mr. Wilkins that since a Madrasa for teaching Persian was set up in Calcutta, it was but proper that a *pathsala* for teaching of the *Sastras* was established in Benares which is a holy place of the Hindus. Mr. Wilkins represented this matter to Mr. Warren Hastings who approved of the idea and desired me to see him at Calcutta. I thereupon made arrangements for my departure, but for want of a proper boat for the journey a little delay occurred with the result that Mr. Hastings sailed for England and the matter was held in abeyance. For a period of 10 years I had been busy heart and soul in trying to establish a *pathsala* for imparting education in the *Sastras*. On Mr. Jonathan Duncan's arrival at Benares I spoke to him also in the matter. He (Mr. Jonathan Duncan) represented the matter to you and with your approval set up a *pathsala* and put me in authority and control of it and issued order to the treasury of Benares to make regular payments for its expenses. I (in pursuance of the order) had been getting the *mushabara* monthly and distributing it to those who were

connected with the work of the *Sastras* here (at Benares). The honour that I am now enjoying had been bestowed on me by you and I hope that you will also maintain it in future. (Translated from Persian OR 349 of 1801).

Documents 15, 16 & 17.

The petitions of Nekaram Sarma and Kenaram Sarma tell the all too familiar story of educated men without employment. Nekaram obviously failed to pass the qualifying test and as is usual in such cases prayed for a fresh examination. Though he politely insinuated that he was a man of known merit and a personal acquaintance of Macnaghten,¹⁴⁹ the petition itself gives little evidence of his literary attainments.

The case of Kenaram, a Bengali Brahman, is slightly different. He had served as a Pandit under John Ryecroft Best, Deputy Registrar of Sadar Diwani Adalat,¹⁵⁰ but the death of his patron led to his loss of livelihood. These petitions are documents of some psychological interest though entirely devoid of historical value. How Macnaghten reacted to the importunities of these two indigent persons of priestly class we do not know.

The Story of a Theft (Document 24)

Agnihotri Visvanath Dikshit's story of his loss near the city of Gaya while on a pilgrimage to that place and the indifference with which the local officers treated his complaints has nothing unusual about it. A Bania in charge of a market place was often in league with the local thieves and the rural police might also have an understanding with them. But the Pandit's

¹⁴⁹ Sir William Hay Macnaghten (1793-1841). He was Registrar of the Sadar Diwani Adalat between 1822-30.

¹⁵⁰ Best joined the service of the East India Company as a writer in 1818. He became Assistant in the office of the Registrar of Sadar Diwani Adalat in 1820, Deputy Registrar of the Sadar Diwani and Nizamat Adalat in 1826, officiating Deputy Superintendent and Remembrancer of Legal Affairs in 1827 and Acting Secretary to the Sadar Special Commission in 1828. He became Judge of Jessore on February 17, 1829. According to the *East India Register* he died on Dec. 22, of the same year. Dodwell and Miles give the date as Dec. 23. (*Bengal Civil Servants* p. 42-43).

demand that the village headman should be held responsible for recovering the stolen property, or in default, for compensating him for his loss may at first sound strangely antiquated. It was however broad based on the age old custom and the traditional law of the country.

Visvanath was one of the court Pandits¹⁵¹ of Banni (or Vinaya) Singh, the third prince of the present ruling house of Alwar. As such he was doubtless familiar with the Dharma-Sastra literature. In his petition to the Governor-General he refers to the *Mitāksharā* text which had the general support, so far as the particular point mooted by the Pandit was concerned, of Hindu lawgivers of other schools. *Apastamha*, for instance, lay down that the village officers appointed by the King "must protect the country to the distance of one *Krośa* from each village. They must be made to repay what is stolen within these (boundaries)".¹⁵² *Kautilya* also imposes a similar responsibility on the village headman¹⁵³. The *Vishnusāmbhīta* expected the King to recover goods stolen by thieves and to restore them entire to their owners irrespective of their caste.¹⁵⁴ *Nārada* enjoins that "he on whose ground a robbery has been committed must trace the thieves to the best of his power, or else he must make good what has been stolen, unless the foot marks can be traced from that ground (into another man's ground). When the foot marks after leaving the ground are lost and cannot be traced any further, the neighbours, inspectors of the road, and governors of that region shall be made responsible for the loss."¹⁵⁵

Nor was the practice so unanimously recommended by ancient Hindu sages discontinued by the Muslim rulers of the land. According to *Ain-i-Akbari*, the Kotwal was to discover the thieves

¹⁵¹ Mr. S. C. Ghosal informs me that the name of Pandit Visvanath Dikshit Agnihotri occurs in the Urdu book "*Aqwal Banai Sing*" at page 66 and Pandit Visvanath is shown as one of the Court Pandits and Astrologers of Maharaja Vinaya Simha. No further information regarding the Pandit is available.

¹⁵² *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. VII, p. 15.

¹⁵³ Shamashastrī—*Kautilya's Arthashastra*, p. 148.

¹⁵⁴ *Secret Books of the East* Vol. VII, p. 20.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.* Vol. XXXIII, p. 225.

and the goods they stole or be responsible for the loss.¹⁵⁶ But in Sher Shah's time the village headman was held responsible for such acts of lawlessness as were committed within his jurisdiction. The Shah "strictly impressed on his *amils* and governors that if a theft or robbery occurred within their limits, and the perpetrators were not discovered, then they should arrest the *muqaddams* of the surrounding villages, and compel them to make it good ; but if the *muqaddams* produced the offenders or pointed out their haunts, the *muqaddams* of the village where the offenders were sheltered were to be compelled to give to those of the village where the crime occurred the amount of restitution they had paid."¹⁵⁷ We have the evidence of a famous traveller, Manucci that these regulations were actually in force when Shah Jahan occupied the imperial throne. Manucci writes of Shah Jahan that "if it chanced that thieves could not be caught, he forced the officials to pay", and goes on to relate that when the Dutch factory of Surat was robbed at night the emperor ordered that the Dutch should be indemnified from his treasury pending the payment to be made by the Governor (*Storia do Mogor* Vol. I, page 204). We learn from the same writer that during Aurangzeb's reign if any one was robbed within the jurisdiction of the Kotwal that officer had to make good the loss (*Storia do Mogor* Vol. II, page 421).

The Patil or the village headman under the Marathas was responsible for the discovery and restoration of all property stolen within his jurisdiction, failing which he had to indemnify the party robbed. Only when the thieves were traced to another village was he absolved from the responsibility which automatically devolved on the headman and the inhabitants of the village concerned. This practice survived in the Central Indian principalities till the middle of the nineteenth century.¹⁵⁸

The Agnihotri's contention, therefore, had not only the support of most schools of Hindu legal thought but the sanction of the time-honoured practice of Hindu and Muslim sovereigns

¹⁵⁶ Jarret, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, pp. 41,42.

¹⁵⁷ *Tarikh-i-Sher Shabi* of Abbas Khan Sarwani (Elliot and Dowson—*History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. IV p. 420).

¹⁵⁸ Sen—*Administrative System of the Marathas*, p. 508.

as well. When he appealed to the provisions of the *Mitāksharā* he was not necessarily looking back to a long forgotten past, for the procedure he so confidently recommended for the Governor-General's adoption was still in vogue in some of the states he knew.

MISCELLANEOUS DOCUMENTS

Complimentary verses by Jadunath Pandit (Documents 13 and 22)

The first of these forms an illustration of *abītra kāvya*. The verses have been so arranged as to represent an umbrella one of the reputed insignia of sovereignty to which the Governor-General, according to popular estimation, was entitled. As only the year of receipt (1828) is known it is impossible to ascertain to which of the three Governor-Generals, Baron Amherst who relinquished office on the 10th March, W. B. Bayle, who officiated from the 13th March to the 4th July or Lord William Bentinck who took charge of the government on the 4th July, these verses were addressed. Nor do we know anything about the author—Jadunath Pandit.

The second document is also from the same pen and was probably addressed to Lord Ellenborough who was appointed Governor-General of India on the 8th October 1841 and reached Calcutta on the 28th February 1842. The verse may well have been composed on the occasion of the victory celebrations arranged by the Governor-General after the return of the British armies from Afghanistan and the enemies mentioned here were doubtless the Afghans.

Yaswantrao Holkar's Rupee (Document 10)

This transcript of the legend of Yaswantrao Holkar's new silver rupee was forwarded to the Political Department with a letter dated 12th February 1808 by the Resident at Delhi. The forwarding letter cannot be traced and the Resident's reason for taking so much interest in the new coin must remain a subject of conjecture. The coin was actually issued in 1728 Saka or 1806 A. D. From the numismatic point of view it marks an

important departure from the previous practice, for a Sanskrit legend replaced the usual Persian inscription on the Indore coins for the first time. In the coins of Ahalya Bai and her immediate successors the emperor of Delhi is mentioned by name, in the coin of 1806 however the name of the reigning emperor is omitted though in another coin issued a year later (No. 37, page 323 of Allan's *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta* Volume IV) we find the name of Muhammad Akbar Qiran Sani Sultan Sahib in Persian script.

That the Maratha princes should invoke the authority of the *rois faineants* of Delhi is no wonder. They had long reconciled themselves to the theory of Moghul suzerainty though in practice they paid but scant respect to the emperor. The tradition long survived the downfall of the Timurids and the Holkar Shahi coins continued to bear the name of the second Shah Alam as late as the reign of Tukoji Rao II (1844-1886). Similarly the Gwalior rupee bore the fragments of Akbar II legend till 1886.

The text of the legend as transmitted by the Resident of Delhi to Calcutta is not free from errors. It was probably an eye copy from an actual coin, and as the legend is seldom found in its entirety on such crude products of the Maratha mints, the copyist, who was probably innocent of Sanskrit, is not wholly to be blamed. भ्रमराईत्, मुद्रैषा and प्रथिवि are obviously misreadings of भ्रमरायित्, मुद्रैषा and पृथिवी. He also reads श्रुमंडले, प्रसादित्, and इके for भूमंडले, प्रसादात् and शके respectively. He also omits the letter त् in the last line of the reverse after लीकेस्मि. Cunningham noticed this silver rupee in his *Coins of Medieval India*. A photo copy of the coin will be found in Allan's *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum* (Volume IV, XXIII, 2). His reading also is not free from objection. He reads for 'भ्रमरायित्' 'भ्रमराजत्'. In the actual coin, as it appears from the photograph, the letter between रा and त् is wanting. Neither our text nor Allan's reading of the legend represents the actual words as they appear on the coin. It is also permissible to suggest that Allan mistook the obverse for the reverse and *vice versa*. He probably thought the reference to the suzerain monarch should be found in the obverse but in Yasavant Rao's time this had become an empty formality.

Lastly, one may reasonably ask why the Resident at Delhi should send information to the Government of India about a coin more than a year after its issue. Probably he did so at the request of the Calcutta authorities, and news did not travel so quickly in those days.

CONCLUSION

While Persian documents in the Imperial Record Department count by thousands and each of the principal vernaculars of India is represented by hundreds of letters, memorials and petitions, we can present to the interested public no more than twenty-five Sanskrit papers, big and small. During the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth Persian still held its place of honour in cultured society and the vernaculars were fast coming to their own. Sanskrit on the other hand remained the sacred language of the Hindus and its study was confined mostly to the priestly class and the students of Ayurveda. In the every day life of the common people it had no place. On special occasions a learned pandit is still commissioned to compose an epistle in Sanskrit and when erudite Brahmans from the far ends of the country meet to discuss a weighty problem of Philosophy or Jurisprudence Sanskrit still forms the medium of discourse. Learned commentaries on ancient texts are still written in the language of the gods and occasionally an original work may be written in Sanskrit even to-day though its appeal is extremely limited. The few archives we publish here eloquently testify to the vitality of the language that ceased to be spoken centuries ago.

S. N. SEN.

SANSKRIT DOCUMENTS
(TEXT)

RULING GIVEN BY BENARES PANDITS ON A
QUESTION OF ADOPTION

(OR 7 Nov. 1778 No. 102)

॥ श्रीमत्काशीविश्वेश्वरो विजयतेतराम् ॥

॥ श्रीमद्रामचंद्रो विजयते रवीरक्षतु श्रीः ॥

॥ श्री. अपुत्रेण भ्रातुष्पुत्रसर्वेषिं सवर्णो यथाविधि पुत्रः कर्तव्यः नापुत्रस्य लोकोस्तीत्यलोकताश्रवणात् । अ-

॥ पुत्रेणैव कर्तव्यः पुत्रप्रतिनिधिः सदा. पिण्डोदकक्रियाहेतोर्यस्मात् स्मात्प्रयत्नत इत्यत्रिस्मरणाच्च । पुत्रप्रतिनि-

॥ धीनाहुः क्रियालोपान्मनीषिणः २ इतिमनुस्मरणाच्च. नन्वत्रिस्मृतावपुत्रेणैवेत्येवकारेण पुत्रवतोनधिकारोवो-

॥ धितः तथाच भ्रातुष्पुत्रसर्वे(त्वे) तु तस्य भ्रातणामेकजातानामेक श्वेत् पुत्रवान् भवेत् सर्वाँ स्तौस्तेन पुत्रेण पुत्रिणो म-

॥ नुरब्रवीदिति^३ मनुव चनेन पुत्रवत्त्ववोधनात्तादृशस्य पुत्रीकरणे कथमधिकार इतिचेद्धंत स्यात्तदाऽनधिकारो यदीदं मनुवचनं पुत्र-

॥ त्वप्रतिपादकं स्यात्तदेव तु न. अस्य तु मनुवचनस्य मिताक्षराकारहेमादि- मदनरत्नवीरमित्रोदयमयूखकाः प्रभृतिभि-

॥ निर्विधकारै^४ भ्रातुष्पुत्रस्य पुत्रीकरणं प्रशस्तं पितृवत्पितृव्यश्राद्धाधिकारित्वं चेत्येतत्प्रतिपादकतया व्याख्यातत्वात्

॥ अपुत्रीकृतस्यापि भ्रातुव्यस्य पुत्रत्वेऽपुत्रदायाधिकारे पत्नी दुहितरश्वैव पितरौ भ्रातरस्तथा. तत्सुता इति पंचम-

॥ स्थाने तस्य योगियाङ्गवक्ष्य^५(sic)कृतपरिगणनविरोधापत्तेश्च यत्तु अपुत्रस्य पितृव्यस्य तत्पुत्रो भ्रातुव्यो भवेत् स ए-

॥ वं तस्य कुर्वीत पिण्डानोदकक्रियामितिष्ठद्वपराशरवचनं^६ तद्भ्रातुव्येण पितृवत्पितृव्यपार्वणश्राद्धम-

॥ वश्यकर्तव्यमित्येवं परं न तु पुत्रत्वप्रतिपादकं पराशरेणैव⁷ तदग्रे पार्वणं
तेन कार्यं स्यात् पुत्रवद्भ्रातृजे-

॥ न तु पितृस्थाने तुतं कृत्वा शेषौ पूर्ववदुच्चरेदित्यभिधानात् तस्माद्भ्रा-
तुष्पुत्रस्य पुत्रीकरणमंतरेण

॥ पुत्रत्वासंभवात्ताहशेन पुत्रत्वाभावात्पुत्रप्रतिनिधिः कर्तव्यएवेतिसिद्धम्
तच्च पुत्रीकरणमापत्कालस्य

॥ जनकप्रतिप्रहीतृपरस्परानुकूल्यस्यच सत्त्वे देयनिष्ठज्येष्ठत्वदातुनिष्ठैक-
पुत्रत्वद्विपुत्रत्वादीनामभावे

॥ च भ्रातुष्पुत्रादेः सपिण्डस्य भवति उक्तनिमित्तक(त)वैपरीत्ये तु न भवति.
तस्य मिताक्षरादिसकलनिवंधेषु प्रति-

॥ षिद्धत्वात् तथाहि मिताक्षरायां यथाह मनुः माता पिता वा दद्यातां यमद्धिः
पुत्रमापदि सदृशं प्रीतिसंयुक्तं स ज्ञे-

॥ यो दत्रिमः सुत इति⁸. आपद्ग्रहणाद् नापदि न देयः⁹. प्रीतिप्रहणं
लोभभयादिप्रतिपेधार्थं तेन परस्परानुकूल्या-

॥ भावे न देयः. तथा एकः पुत्रो न देयः नत्वेकं पुत्रं दद्यात्प्रतिगृहीयाद्वेति
वसिष्ठस्मरणात्.¹⁰ नैकपुत्रेण कर्तव्यं पु-

॥ त्रदानं कदाचन. वहुपुत्रेण कर्तव्यं पुत्रदानं प्रयत्नत इति शौनकस्मरणाच्च.¹¹
तथाद्विपुत्रेणपि न देयं उक्तशौनकवा-

॥ क्यनैकपुत्रेणेतिनिषेधात् द्विपुत्रस्यैवदानप्राप्तौ वहुपुत्रेणेत्युक्तिसामर्थ्येन
द्विपुत्रस्यापिदानप्रतिषेधात्. एक-

॥ पुत्रोद्यपुत्रोनुभतः कौरवनंदन. एकंचक्षुर्यथाऽचक्षुर्नाशे तस्यांध एव
हीत्यादिभीष्मं प्रति शंतनूक्तेश्च¹² त-

। थानेकपुत्रसद्वावेषि ज्येष्ठो न देयः. ज्येष्ठेन जातमावेण पुत्री भवति
मानव इति¹³ तस्यैव पुत्रकार्यकरणे मुख्य-

॥ त्वादिति. एवंचोक्तनिमित्ताभावेन भ्रातुष्पुत्रस्य पुत्रीकरणासंभवे ब्राह्मणानां
सपिंडेषु कर्तव्यः पुत्रसंप्रहः

॥ तदभावेऽ सपिंडो वा अन्यत्र तु न कारयेदिति¹³ शौनकवचनादन्यस्यापि
पुत्रीकरणं भवतीति सिद्धम्. तथा

॥ चारसातिरिक्तपुत्राणां मध्ये कलौ दत्तकस्यैव व्यवस्थापितत्वात् पिराङ्गवत्वमंशहरत्वं च तस्यैव सिध्यतीति ॥ शब्दम्

(1st Column)

सम्मतोयमर्थो धर्माधिकारिनंदपणिष्ठानाम् (1)¹⁴
 सम्मतोयमर्थो भारद्वाजभाईरामभट्टस्य (2)
 सम्मतोयमर्थो जस्योपनाम्नो गङ्गारामस्य (3)¹⁵
 सम्मतोयमर्थो वेणीमाधवपाठकस्य (4)
 सम्मतोय शास्त्रार्थः कृपानाथदेवस्य (5)
 सम्मतोयमर्थो गङ्गोपनामकवीरेश्वरस्य (6)
 अप्पाशाङ्किसम्मतोयमर्थः (7)
 सम्मतोयमर्थोठोबलोपाख्यवैजनाथभट्टस्य (8)¹⁶
 संमतोयमर्थो दीनानाथदेवस्य (9)¹⁷
 संमतोयमर्थो गुणेश्वरभट्ट (1?)नाम (10)¹⁸
 संमतोयमर्थो ठाकरोपनामक
 भवानीशङ्करस्य (11)¹⁹
 संमतोयमर्थः कृपाकृष्णायाङ्गिकानाम् (12)²⁰
 संमतोयमर्थोर्धमणोपनामक राजारामस्य (13)²¹
 संमतोयमर्थो रंगनाथशाङ्किणः (14)
 संमतोयमर्थो जगन्नाथमिश्रस्य (15)²²
 संमतोयमर्थः पुण्यस्तंभकरोपाख्यगोविन्दस्य (16)²³
 संमतोयमर्थः पौराणिकोपाख्य आत्मारामभट्टस्य (17)²⁴

(2nd Column)

संमतोयमर्थो भट्टोपाख्य अनंतरा-
 मभट्टानाम् (18)²⁵
 संमतोयमर्थो भट्टोपाख्यवृजनाथ-
 भट्टस्य (19)

संमतोयमर्थो भट्टोपाख्य दा[दम] भट्ट-²⁶

स्य(२०)

संमतोयं निर्णयः मेघनाथदेवस्य²⁷ (२१)

संमतोयमर्थः शेषहरोरामस्य²⁸ (२२)

शेषोपनामक गोविंदराम²⁹

पंडितस्य संमतोयमर्थः (२३)

संमतोयंनिर्णयः भट्टोपाह्न नीलकंठशर्मणः³⁰ (२४)

संमन्यतेमुमर्थे नानापाठकः³¹ (२५)

संमतोयमर्थो भरद्वाजसीतारामभट्टस्य³² (२६)

संमतोयमर्थो दशपुत्रोपाख्यरामपंड्रपंडितस्य (२७)

संमतोयमर्थो भैरवदीक्षिततिलका-³³ ४

नाम् (२८)

संमतोयमर्थो गडेगिलभीष्मभट्टस्य³⁴ (२९)

संमतोयमर्थो रंगनाथदीक्षितस्य (३०)

संमतोयमर्थो द्रोणोपनामक वैजनाथदी-

क्षितस्य (३१)

BENARES PANDITS' MEMORANDUM
ON WARREN HASTINGS

(OR 31 July 1788 No. 433)

[P. 3]

युगकृतधृति¹ १८४४ तुल्ये विक्रमाददवृंदेगतवति नवपू-
र्णात्यष्टु² १७०९ संस्ये शकाख्ये । अधिगुहतिथि³ ६ शुश्ले
कृत्तिके शुक्वारे कृतमिदमिह पत्र काशिकाख्यातलो-
कै : वयं जना वाराणसीवासिनः प्रवासिनश्चात्र सं-
प्राप्ता याथातथयेन ब्रूमः गवर्नरजनरल् वारन् हिटिंस⁴-
साहेबाख्यविभुवरकृपासंभारशिष्टाचारकलितकतिप-
यकारणैः संतुष्टा हृष्टारच वर्जीमह इति ॥ तेषु च कारणेषु
॥ स निखिलदेशीयचातुर्वर्ण्यमहत्तीर्थरूपाया : श्रीवि-
श्वेश्वरनगर्या वसतिस्वास्थ्यनिरूपणेय(sic)लंकृतवानिति
प्रथमम् ससुखं समानं चास्मान्त्वराज्ये स्थापितवानि-
ति द्वितीयम् यात्रिणश्च गङ्गापुत्रमहोपद्रवभियालप-
तरा अत्रागद्धच्छन्तिस्म तदुपद्रवानुपशमित्वानित्यभूतपू-
र्वस्वकार्यसौकर्यं विचार्य निरस्तसमस्तसाध्वसाः सकलज
नपदयात्रिणः स्फिराः सांप्रतं सुखं समायान्तीति कृतीयं⁶

[P. 4]

वाराणस्यास्संक्षणाय न्यायनिर्णयाय च सुझान्यायवि-
श्विलोभं नवाब अलीइब्राहीमखानं⁷ शास्तारं प्रतिष्ठापित्वा-
न् चातुर्वर्ण्यविवादविवेचनाय वरीयांसो द्विजविद्वांसस्त-
दितरतन्निर्णयाय च यवनार्णे तिष्ठेयुरिति देशस्थसमस्त-
जनानुरंजनसुखाकरणहठतरनियोगगर्भमाज्ञापत्र⁸
तस्मायपित्वान् स च शास्ता सर्वेषामधिकारिणामुत्को-
चदण्डाद्युपादानप्रतिषेधेन राजबलवंड(sic)सिंह⁹ चेतसिंह-
राज्यादधिकतरं प्रजाः सुखयतीति चतुर्थं पुनश्चात्र स-

मागतः १० पीनयशा गवन्नरमिस्तरहिष्टीनोत्रत्यशिष्ट जन-
 समागमसमयेसाधुमधुरासंलापापारकृपासाराचाराचर-
 शैर्यथायथसर्वसम्मानविधानप्रतिपालनपरैर्बहिरन्तः-
 करणैः सर्वजनमनस्तोषयतिस्मेतिपंचमम् अस्म-
 ज्जनामन्दानन्दस्म्पादनायसर्वतीर्थशिरोमणिश्रीमद्वि-
 श्वेश्वरमन्दिरद्वारि स्ववसुव्ययेनविशालवादित्रायतनं का-
 रितवानिति षष्ठम् प्रजापालनपरिपादपरित्यागे-
 न सर्वथा लोभदृष्ट्यसृष्ट्या कदापि कस्यचिदपि हानिं ने-
 हितवानिति सप्तमम् इत्थंमिस्तरहिष्टिसजलाद- ११
 जजंगसुनीतिप्रीतिरीतय (यो) ऋतोदिताः पादसाहकंपनी-
 यशांसि शारदेन्दुवन्निखिलाशा व्याप्यन्त्यो (sic) हिंदोस्ताने-
 तिप्रतीतविततनीवृत्सु जाग्रतीति वयं समे सुखिता आ-
 कम्पानुकम्पानिधिपादशाहकम्पनी प्राज्यसौराज्यसा-
 म्राज्यसमृद्धिमधिकतरमाशास्मह इति शिवम् ॥

Names of Signatories

[Page 5]

اتارام کا لے	بیریشور شیش	نیلکنٹھی بہٹ
سیکھ ناتھ دیو	بھیر دی دیجہت	بالم بہٹ کا لے
جگن ناتھ بہٹ شوکل	بے رام بہٹ	شنبھودیو دیو
گنگارام نکاریل	جگن ناتھ مصہر	بیجناتھ بہٹ کوے منڈن
بہٹ گنگارام جڑی	اتارام پورا نک	رام چند بہٹ کوٹ کر
بھر دی دیجہت	بھودیو مصہر	سونا تھ بہٹ پوریا نگر
بایار دیجہت	گونیشور بہٹ	بالم بہٹ بھار دواج
کشن بہٹ ارڈی	دادم بہٹ	بالکشن دیجہت مہاجن
ہری کشن دیجہت	جگیشور بہٹ	سکھارام بہٹ
اوے شنکر پنڈت	رام کشن قیساٹی	بابو دیجہت دیاچک
بالموکن بہٹ کھو لے	شدائیشور بہٹ	انشا ستری
پنڈت نانا پانک	سیتا رام بہٹ پورا نک	بالکشن دیجہت
بیجناتھ بہٹ ناگ راج	منی رام بہٹ سہابری	بالکشن کاڑی کل
شنبھو جی دیجہت	اننت رام بہٹ پچھی دہر	پرم شنکر

پھمن بیاس	لچمی دہر دیکھت	اووے کشن تیواری
بجے کشن پاٹک	شیود لوچچی گوپال جی	بلبے جی
سماکشن جانی	میانا تھے پنڈا	اند رام اشت رام
کلیان جی دیکھت	مکندرام شوکل	پنڈا اندرام
شیو پران جیون	دو بے کیوں کشن	مول نا تھا رو درجی
بادن کشن	بنواری کا نہہ دیلو	تیواری لشن دیلو
سوسوچ کشن	دو بے بشنورام	دو بے گنپت جی
بورا بشنورام	بورا گنگا رام	تیواری کشن لمجھ
دو بے کا نہہ جی	تیواری موئی تعل	پنڈیا کلیان جی
کیوں کشا دیکھت	رام دت	اند رام شوکل
اند رام بہٹ	رام کشن بہت کھوئے	دینا نا تھ
ہری بہٹ دھوپلے	بال مونکنڈ ارڑی	ہمیدھر دہرم اوہنکاری
جگن نا تھا دہرم اوہنکاری	شیورام بہٹ کنو شے	واسدیو بہٹ گور جر
کرپا کشن جاگک	بنا یک بہت مونے	اند رام بہٹ پٹ درگن
ببرد پاچھہ خناستری	لچمن بہٹ	شیوالل پاٹک
میگھاپت بھوٹی	لچمیشور شاستری	بھوائی شنکر تاکر

سونج رام جانی	شیو بحدار پاٹنک	کنیش بہت شاٹنک پانے
بینی رام بورا	کو بند رام شیودت	ارت رام دلبہ رام
دو بے چرخیو چا شنکر	موہن لال مرل دہر	زسی جی موریشور
ناہنا پر مشور	گوری شنگر دار اچنڈ	دیوا کرن نجت رام
رامیشور بکرن	رو بے بنا تھ رام	گلما کرن اچیشور
ہیادہ را دوے کرن	ریت رام سنو کھ رام	کاشی رام ریشور
دیادہ رہ دینا نامہ	سودہاریشور عزت رام	دو بے عزت رام بحاری
گو تھا ساتو یکت کرشن دیال	درادہر منگلیشور	دینا نامہ بشنو
انبا شنکر بجے شنکر	جستیشور	ریوا داس
کاشی رام شیو شنکر	کاشی رام	لالا دہر دپ رام
نا نامو کھا	سورج رام منارام	جانی ریوا دت بھاری معل
جانی اسند رام سار تھ رام	ایشور جی لکھو جی	کو بند رام نیر بگیشور
رشک لعل برج معل	موکیشور	جو گت رام عزت رام
سنو کھ رام او تم رام	رام دت سرگیشور	دیانند کرنا کرن
بال مو کنہ شنکر بل جھو	بجے رام جاسن رام	در گھا شنکر دیارام
بشو نامہ چا گو بی نامہ	ہیرا کرن موئی کرن	چند ریشور

مہنت گو پال کش	پرم شنکر	جنتیشور گپی ایشور
رام چندر بیاس	کرشن چی جوش	انبارام بیاس
تیواری رتن جی	د دبے سورج جی	بیواری بشویش
جد دپت جوشی	گلپنت جوشی	تیواری انبارام
را جارام کبیول رام	بدیا دہر بید	پنڈ یا مہادیو
بیر لشیور	بدیا نہنڈ جوشی	دیودت بہٹ
تیواری بھنا نخ	او جہارام کشن	میٹھارام بہٹ
او جھارا دھ کشن	د دبے دیورام	د دبے چتر بھوج
مسارام	انند رام بیاس	انبا شنکر جانی
دیجہت ہری کشن	دیجہت گو پال جی	رگھونا نخ گو پال
کشن دیو دیجہت	جیون رام دوہے	سورج دت شوکل
پر بھودیو بیاس	چتر لشیور بہٹ	گو پال دیو
کر پا شنکر دیجہت	ناراین دیو	شیو شنکر دیجہت
[Page 9]		گوکل نا نخ دیجہت -
بین محضر بیحد و ہفتاد و ہشت دشخدا است		

BENGALI PANDITS OF BENARES
ON WARREN HASTINGS

(OR 31 July 1788 No. 434)

[Page 1]

श्रीमत्सु राजराजेपु इंलेण्डभूमि(मी)न्द्रेपु श्रीमत्कोम्पा-
णौ च श्रीवाराणस्यां कृतवसतीनां नानादेशीया(य)यात्रि-
काना(णा)ञ्च निवेदनानि विशेषः । श्रीयुत(क्त)गवन्नरजन्ने-
लहेस्तिंसनरेन्द्रस्य प्रणयानुरागा(ग)समनुरज्जिता एव नि-
त्यं तिष्ठामः । १। अपरोपि अस्मिन् देशे यदा तेन नरेन्द्रे-
ण स्थितं तदा अस्मांकं मङ्गलार्थं मर्यादस्थापनार्थञ्च व-
हुधी प्रयतिं ॥२॥ अपरोपि तस्य नरेन्द्रस्य प्रसादान्नि-
रुद्धेगमन्नवसतामस्माकमतीवसुखं दुष्टानां दमनाशच(नञ्च) शु-
त्वा नानादिग्भ्यो लोकाः समगत्यात्र वसतिञ्चक्रः ॥३॥
अन्योपि अत्रवसतां स्तां प्रतिपालनार्थमसतां निव्रहार्थ-
ञ्च धीमन्तं नानाशास्त्रार्थकोविदं धर्मभीरु-निर्लोभं वेदप-
थानुसारिणां धर्मशास्त्रानुसारेण यवनानां तदीयशास्त्रा-
नुसारेण च व्यवस्थापकं नियोजयितुं (sic) पर्यालोच्य श्रीमान्
हेस्ति-
संज्ञो नरेन्द्रस्तादृशं श्रीमन्नवावश्रालीविराहिमखाँनामकं
गुणसिन्धुं नियोजयामास तेन पूर्वराजापेक्ष्या इदानीमस्मा-
कं सम्यक्प्रतिपालनं जायते ॥४॥ अपरोपि यदत्र नरे-
न्द्रेणागतं तदा तं द्रष्टुं ये ये गताः ते ते यथायोग्यमाहृताः ॥५॥
अन्योपि यथायोग्यश्रीश्री प्रीत्या नित्यविजयार्थं श्रीश्री तोरण-
समीपे प्रभूतमुद्राव्ययेन सम्यङ्ग्निर्मिते पाषाणमये प्रासादे
वादित्रं नैतिकं नरेन्द्रः कारयामास ॥६॥ तेन नरेन्द्रेण
यावदत्र स्थितं तावदेव पुत्रवद्वयं सर्वथा प्रतिपालिता अस्मा-(sic)
अस्माकं कस्मिन्नपि विषये तस्य नरेन्द्रस्य न्युनता नासीन् ॥
तेन वयं सर्वदा सुखिनस्तिष्ठामः । एतेन श्रीमतां राजराजा-
नां इडलेण्डभूमि(मी)न्द्राणां दीनानाथैकशरणानां श्रीमतः को-

स्पानेश्चात्र महती कीर्त्तिर्जाता वत्तते वयमपि नित्यं शुभाशि-
षः कुर्मः । श्री वासिनां निवेदनमिति ॥

[Page 3]

Seal of Qazi Naqi Ali Khan, 1201

(Here follows the Persian translation of the Sanskrit text)

Names of Signatories

گوبنڈ رام نیائی پنجاں	کرپارام ترک سدھا نت
کاشی رام چھبیا	رام رام سدھا نت
شیام بیا بگیش	پران گشن شرما
کشن چند سار ہوم	کشن مسگل شرما
کشن چند رکھجیا	جگل کشور نہ او پڑھیا
دلال نیائی لنکار	رام لو جن رکھجیا
سدھند ترک بگیش	بلام بس پتی
انند چند بہٹا چارچ	شیونا تھہ ترک بوس
کاشی نا تھہ میتھل	رام چرن بیا بگیش
رام پر شاد منہ او پڑھیا	گنگا رام پنجاں
بھلیمسر پنجاں	رام سدر راے
گنگا دہر بیا بگیش	کالی پر شاد بہٹا چارچ
رام چرن چکر پتی	کشن اند بیا لنکار
رام چند ر بیا لنکار	ہری دیو ترک باؤس

بِرَامْ بِهْتَا چارِج	رَامْ رَامْ بَخْشِي
بِجُواْنِي چِرَنْ سِرْكَار	رَوْدَرَامْ سِرْكَار
چِنْدَرْ شِنْكَرْ بِدِيَا بَگِيْس	رَامْ شِنْكَرْ نَنْدَهْ اوْ پِهْيَا
کَالِيْ پِرْ شَادِ سَدْ حَانْت	شِيْپُورْ شَادِ سَهْيَت
دَرْ پَ نَارَايِنْ بِهْتَا چارِج	شِيْوَزَايِنْ نَنْدَهْ اوْ پِهْيَا
رَامَانْ كَنْتَهْ بِدِيَا لِنْكَار	گَوكِلْ كَشْنَ بِدِيَا لِنْكَار
چِنْدَهْ سِيْ چِرَنْ شِرْمَا	رَامْ نَاكْهَهْ شِرْمَا
رَامَانْ كَنْتَهْ بِدِيَا لِنْكَار	لَكْمَنْ بِدِيَا بَگِيْس
لَكْمَيْ نَارَايِنْ شِرْمَا	گَنْكَارَامْ بِچَال
کِسْلَارَامْ شِرْمَا	كَشْنَانْدَهْ سَارِ بَھُوم
رَامْ رَامْ شِرْمَا	تَلْكَوكْ چِنْدَهْ گَنْكَوْيِي
کَالِيْ پِرْ شَادِ شِرْمَا	رَامْ جَيْ گَنْكَوْيِي
سوْ بَهَانَا نَهْتَهْ شِرْمَا	بَلْگُوْهِنْ كَجِيَا
كَشْنَارَامْ سَارِ بَھُوم	رَامْ دَاسْ شِرْمَا
بَهْ شِنْكَرْ شِرْمَا	بَهْ كَشْنَ شِرْمَا
نَيَانْدَهْ شِرْمَا	پَرْ مَانْدَهْ گَنْكَوْيِي

جے زاين گھو سال	سخھونا تھا نند او پدھيا
گنگا ہری نند او پدھيا	بھوانی شنکر شرما
بشننا تھو چھجيا	رام سنتوس چھجيا
جگنا تھو رائے	رام رام سدھنہت
گنگا دہربیا بالگیں	مانک چنہ شرما
پام چھد نیائی لکار	رام موہن بھٹا چارج
جگنا تھو شرما	بے دیب شرما
دیب زاين شرما	کاشی تھو شرما
لکھی زاين نیائی بالگیں	گوپال شنکر پنجاں
بھکل موہن شرما	کشن دیو چھجیا
رکھونا تھا پالٹھے	بشن تھو کوس
بھیرو چرن سیل	کالی پرشاد سرکار
رام زاين سیل	سنٹو سنگھ
رام موہن پالٹھے	رام سندھ سائیں
کشن موہن داس	پران کشن پالٹھے
رام ہری داس	رام شنکر بوس
ہری چرن ملک	رام ندھی داس

کالی پر شاد شرما	بر ج کشور گھووس
کالی پر شاد شرما	کالی شنکر شرما
پران ناکھ تھاگر	کیوں رام بہنا چار ج
نیلمنی تھاگر	رام چرن بنو جیا
ہری کشن بیہ	چین حرن تھاگر
منود یمپت	بشنکر دیمپت
بشو ناکھ مشر	رام ناکھ دیمپت
ناراین مشر	بید ناکھ
کالی داس سدھانت	او سان مشر
برین محضر کیسید و دو آزدہ و سخت اسٹ	

LETTER FROM BAHUJI MAHARANI
TO LORD CORNWALLIS

(OR 2 March 1791 No. 56)

श्रीहरि:

श्रीजगदीशो जयति

॥ स्वस्ति श्रीमन्महागजाधिराजश्रीमन्तगोस्वामि-
॥ नी श्रीमहागज्ञीनां प्रौढोद्ग्रप्रतापतपनात्-
॥ पतापितारिदारवदनेषु गवरनर लार्ड कं-¹
॥ नवालीशवाहादुरेषु शुभाशिपः समुद्दसं-
॥ तु वृत्तांतं (तः) च श्रीमन्मशःकुसुमवाटिकालो-
॥ चनमुद्दितजगदीशकृतबहलप्रसन्नता-
॥ वर्षणभूतमकरं निभूतास्मन्मानसमति-
॥ प्रसन्नमधवद्यातो दृरे वर्तमाना अपि गुणिनो
॥ निकटस्थिता इव सकलचेतसि परमानंदं ज-
॥ नयन्ति किंच लौकिकप्रेमवद्विरपि परस्परं पत्रिका-
॥ लेखः क्री(क्रि)यते सुरक्षणपोषितनिखिलजनधर्म-
॥ तमभिर्भवद्विद्विः) निखिललोकशुभसमुत्सुकास्मा-
॥ स्वलौकिकसौहार्दवत्सु च कती(ति) स्वमुद्रांकितानि
॥ परंपरात आगतवंति पत्राणि न सामीर्य(र्य)त² इत्याश्र-
॥ र्य भवति यतः सुमनसः स्वमूले वर्तमानं सौरभं बहुली-
॥ कुर्वति तस्मादिदानिं स्वकोशाल्यसूचकवर्ण-

[Written on the right margin]

मंडितयथापरम्परापत्रप्रेषणेनास्मन्मनसि सदा संतोषो विधेय इतो
विशेषः लालामयारामपत्राद्व्येय इत्यलम् ।

(*On the cover*)

॥ गवरनरलार्ड कानवालीशबाहादुरकरकि(की) ॥
लितमस्त्वदं पत्रम्

Seal

श्रीबालकृष्णो
जयति श्रीमहा-
राणी वहुजीका-³
या इयं मुद्रास्ति

PETITION OF KANHARDAS TO
SIR JOHN SHORE

(OR 15 November 1796 No. 456)

स्वस्ति श्रीमन्निखिलावनिमंडलमंडनविद्वज्जनमंडली-विराजमानसर्वजन-
हृदयाह्नादकप्रस्थापितकीर्तिरंगिणीधवलीकृताशेषदिगंतरालेषु
श्रीमत्सदाचारविविधशास्त्रविचारविनिर्जितपरमोदारविद्वज्जनगोष्यलंका-
रेषु परमसद्वुद्धिविस्तारविस्तारितालौकिकपराक्रमाक्रामितानेक-
वलवद्धराधीशमौलिलसन्मुकुट[म]णिविस्फुरलकांतिकनकमयकोशदानाति-
शयमहोदारशुभगुणगणाशारधर्मभारेषु प्रवलतर हयगजरथ-
पदातिप्रतापविध्वंसितप्रचंडाकांडप्रोदंडारातिचयचमूलवधयशआधारेषु
निखिलमुखसमाजविराजमानामात्याद्युपहारीकृतकनकमय-
नागाश्वशिविकादिशुभायितद्वारेषु श्रीश्रीश्रीसर्जनसोरसाहवेषु
कंहरदासस्याशिषां राशयो विलसंतुतराम् शमस्त्यत्र
द्यासिंधो श्रैम-
तं तदहर्निशं आशासेस्वः सरित्पाथो वगाहादिक्षणेष्वहम्^१ १ प्रजासंरक्षणे
दक्षं विदुषामेकमाश्रयं नयज्ञं निर्जराः सर्वे रक्षंतु त्वां समर्चिताः २
याभूद्राजपरंपरा नरपतिश्रीविक्रमार्कात्प्रभृत्यद्यावध्यवनीपुरंदर वयं
कुञ्त्रापि नैताहशीं नीतिं शुश्रुम याहशी निरुपमा निर्ब्याजनि-
लोभतारूपा
त्वय्यवलोक्यतेखिलजनानंदैककंदः प्रभो^३ ३ प्रसरदतुलकीर्तिः कामना-
कामकुंभः द्विषदिभकुलसिंहः सर्जनः सोरभूपः क्षितिपरिवृट् चू-
डारक्षनीराजितांघ्रिर्गुणिनयनचकोरानन्दथुगलौसमानः^४ ४ जयतु जयिज-
नानामग्रणीग्रणीषु प्रवलपरकुक्कुलः कीरतुंडाभपाण्णिः परमनिय-
तिपूर्णः प्रीणितप्रार्थिपूगः सकलमहिधराणांमौलिमालायमानः ५ अथ

स्त्रोदंतो मया साक्षादेव श्रीमति निवेद्यते तद्यथा निवेशमनस्माकं
 गुवालि-
 यराख्ये नगरे अभिधानं च कन्हरदास इति वयश्च षड्ङिशतिवार्पिकं
 श्रीवाराणस्यां दारानगरे वृद्धकालेश्वरसंनिधौ राज्ञश्चेतसिंहमातुः⁴
 सदगुरुः श्रीमानकु-
 मारीति तस्या गृह इदानीं निवसामि वर्षत्रयं स्वसद्ने चतुरसंवत्सरान्
 सिद्धुंडाख्ये⁵ नगरे नववर्षाणि च वाराणस्यांमहता प्रयासेनाहर्दिवं
 शास्त्रमधीत्य
 स्थितमिदानीं नयनयोः कश्चिद्व्याधिराविरासीत् यद्वशादऽग्रेऽ
 धीतमपि शास्त्रमवलोकितुं न शक्तोम्यग्रे चाध्येतुं घटिकार्द्धं
 लेखने घटीमात्रं च
 पठने लोचनाभ्यां पानीयं निःसरति शिरसि च वैद्नोत्पद्यते
 यथासाभाध्ये चिकित्सा मया कारिता सांप्रतं तु चिकित्सां
 कारयितुं न शक्नुमोऽकिंचनत्वात् ततो
 महती चिंता जायते यदग्रे मम किं भविष्यसि(ति) कोवा मां पालयिष्य-
 तीति शास्त्रे इस्थमुपलभ्यते यत्पंडितं दीनं दुःखिनं च राजा
 पालयतीति उक्तं च श्रीमद्भाग-
 वते एषो राज्ञां परो धर्मो ह्यार्तानामार्तिनिप्रह इति एतद्वर्मवतां फलं
 तु दशमस्कंधे उत्तरार्द्धे भगवता कृष्णेन स्वयमुक्तं हरिश्चन्द्रोर-
 तिदेव उच्छवृत्तिः शिविर्वलिः
 व्याधः कपोतो वह्वो ह्यप्रुवेण ध्रवं गता इति अस्येयं व्याख्या
 चक्रवर्तीहरिश्चांद्रो(sic)ऽर्थिनोर्थसंपादनाय भार्यात्मजादिसर्वं
 विक्रीय स्वयं चांडालदासतां
 प्राप्नोप्यनिर्विगणः सहायोध्यावासिभिर्जनैः स्वर्गंगतः⁶ राजा रंतिदेवसकुटुं-
 वोष्टचत्वारिंशदहान्यलव्धोदकोपि कथंचिल्लव्यान्नोदकाद्यर्थिभ्यो
 दत्त्वा-
 ब्रह्मलोकं गतः⁷ उच्छवृत्तिमुद्गालः षण्मासं सीदत्कुटुंवोप्यातिथ्यदानेन
 ब्रह्मलोकं गतः⁸ उशीनरदेशाधिपतिः शिविः शरणागतकपोतर-
 दत्त्वाय स्वमांसं श्येनाय
 दत्त्वा दिवं गतः⁹ स्वर्गमभिव्याप्य सार्वभौमो वलिः¹⁰ सर्वस्वं ब्राह्मण-

वेषधारिणे हरये दत्वा तमेवात्मसाक्षकार कपोतश्चातिथ्ये व्याधाय
कपोत्या सहात्ममांसं
दत्वा विमानेन दिवं गतः^{११} एवमन्ये च वहवोऽधुवेण शरीरेण धुवं
लोकं गता इत्यलं किंतु ताद्वाः पृथ्वीपालक इदानीं दुर्लभतरो यो
दीनानाथेषु दयां

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कुर्यात् श्रीमतात्वत्रत्यजनतामहाजनपंडितदीनदुःखिप्रभृतिः सर्वापि
संतोषिता सती प्रतिवीथि प्रतिद्वारं प्रतिगृहं स्वर्गतरंगिणीरोधसि
च श्रैमतं यशो
गायति यत्स्वराट् श्रीसर्जनसोरसाहवः कंपनीगृहे साक्षाद्वम्भूर्त्तिधरो
दाता शरण्यश्च अंतो महाराज वाराणस्यां कंचित्साहवं प्रतीत्यं
लिखितुमर्हथ यन्म-
मम भोजनाच्छादनयोः परामर्श कुर्यात् नेत्रयोश्च चिकित्सां कारयेत् ततो
निवृत्ते नेत्ररोगे पञ्चसंवत्सरं(रम)ध्ये शास्त्रं परिसमाप्य यत्र
यत्र गमिष्य(ध्या)मि तत्र तत्र श्रीम-
ते आशिपः प्रयोक्ष्यामि कीर्तिं च गास्यामि अथ कदाचिन्न रोगनिवृत्ति-
स्तहि^{१२} यावज्जीवं काश्यां निवसन् श्रैमतः शुभं चिंतयिष्यामि
यद्यपि श्रीमन्महाराज
केनो(ना)पि द्वारेण श्रीमता सहास्माकं परिचितिर्नास्ति तथापि
श्रैमतीं दीनदयालुतां श्रुत्वार्जवपत्रं [लि]खितं यद्भवान्सर्वथास्मान्
दयिष्यत इत्यलं सर्वज्ञकल्पेष्विति
यशः श्रीमन्महाराज विपुलं तव विद्यते सकलं ले(लि)खितुं कोपि
शक्तुयादुदरंभरिः

Benares 8th November 1796

PETITION OF KANHARDAS
TO SIR JOHN SHORE

(OR 30th May 1797 No. 296)

॥श्रीः॥

स्वस्ति श्रीमन्निखिलावनिमण्डलमण्डनविहितदिग्विजयवादीन्द्रवृन्दमर्हनवि-
द्वज्जनकमलकुलप्रकाशनमार्तण्डमूर्तिषु सदा-
चाराचरणपरिलक्ष्यप्रतिष्ठावशीकृतसज्जनगणगीयमानयशश्वन्द्रकरधव-
लीकृतजगत्रितयेषु श्रीश्रीश्रीश्रीस्वराट् सर्जन
सोरसाहवेषु कन्हरदासस्याशिषां राशयः समुद्धसन्तुतराम् प्रत्यर्थिक्षिति-
पालवालवनितासीमन्तसिन्दुरिकालुएटाक प्रकटप्रता-
पतपनप्रोद्भासिताशामुखः सर्वाङ्गैरुचिरश्विराय जयतात् सद्भूपचूडा-
मणिः शीलौदार्यविवेकधैर्यनिलयः श्रीसर्जनः सोरराट् १^१
अतुलितगुणराशिख्यातनामप्रवर्हः प्रतिदिवसवितीर्णप्रीणितप्राणिपूगः
विशदतरयशोव्याभीशुभिर्धैतविश्वो नयगुणजितवे-^२
युर्वेणुगीतावदातः^३ २ उदन्तस्तु महाराज यन्मयार्जवपत्रिका प्रेषिता
कार्त्तिकसुदि अष्टम्यां श्रीमदंतिके^४ १ तां विलोक्य प्रजानाथ श्री-
मता करुणावता श्रीकाश्यां प्रेषितं पत्रं मद्वृत्तिज्ञप्रिहेतवे २ काशीस्थाः
पणिडताः श्रीमत्पाठशालाधिकारिणः तेषां समीपे निखिला मद्वृ-
त्तिर्विदिताभवत् ३ पौषमासस्य सप्तम्यां शुक्रायां गुरुवासरे अनंतरं
भवान् काशीमलंकर्तुमुपागतः ४ तस्मिन्नवसरे मेमूदत्युत्कण्ठा-
भिनन्दने आशीर्भिः किन्तु भवतस्त्वरासीत् पश्चिमां द्विंशां ५ गन्तुन्ततो
मयाऽलोच्चि पुनरागमने सति दर्शनार्थं गमिष्यामीत्येतन्नागमनं ह्य-
भूत् ६ श्रीकाश्यां भवतो राजन्नत आर्जववेदिका पत्रिका मया लिख्यतेस्तां
भवाब्लौतुमर्हति ७ यदाहं वाराणस्यामागतो गुवालि-

यरात्तदा व्ययार्थं किंचिद्द्रव्यमासीत्तद्वादधीत्य स्थितः यदा तद्द्रव्यं
समाप्तं तदा श्रीभागवतवाचनेनात्मवृत्तिं कुर्वन्नासं
यत्प्रभृति नेत्रयोव्याधिराविरासीत्तदा किमपि कर्तुं न शक्नोमि घटीमात्रं
पठने लोचनाभ्यां पानीयं निःसरति शिरसि च वेद-
नोत्पद्यत एतदत्रत्याः परिणिष्ठाः नगरस्थलोकाश्च सर्वं जानन्ति यत्प्रभृति
श्रीमता महाराजेन मत्प्रवृत्तिः शोधिता तत्प्रभृति
वह्नीः शुभाशिषः श्रीमते प्रयुज्जान आशासे यत्प्रेष्यपरंपराद्वारा मच्छोधनं
भवद्द्विः कारितं तद्विद्वयुक्ततरमेव उक्तं च श्रीमद्भा-
गवते एतावान् हि प्रभोरथर्थे यद्दीनपरिपालनमित्यतो महाराज कंपनीगृहे
साक्षाद्वर्मूर्त्तिधरं सार्वभौमं भवतमिदमेव या-
चे यच्छ्रामुखात्किंचिन्मदर्थमत्रत्यान्प्रत्याज्ञप्यतां यल्लव्यव्याप्तिः
भोजमरधुन्यवगाहनसूर्यकं काश्यां निव-

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सन् श्रीमते शुभाशिषः प्रयुज्जानः स्थास्यामीत्यलं सर्वज्ञकल्पेषु
30th May 1797

LETTER OF KANHARDAS TO THE
SUPREME COUNCIL

(OR 22 May 1798 No. 320)

स्वस्ति श्रीमन्निखिलावनिमंडलमंडनप्रख्यापितकीर्तिरंगिणीधवलीकृ-
ताशेषदिगंतरालेषु श्रीमत्सदाचारविविधशास्त्रविचारविनिर्जितपर-
मोदारविद्वज्जनगोष्ठयलंकारेषु श्रीश्रीश्रीश्रीकौशलाधिष्ठातृषु¹ कन्ह-
रदासस्याशिषां राशयो विलसंतुतराम् स्वोदतो मया निवेद्यते तद्यथा नि-
वेशनमस्माकं गुवालियराख्ये नगरेऽभिधानं च कन्हरदास इति श्रीवाराण-
स्यां दारानगर इदानीं निवसामि महता प्रयासेनाहर्दिवं शास्त्रमधीत्यस्थितं-
[पु]नरेकंमम दुःखमुपस्थितं यद्वशान्महती चितोत्पन्ना तत इदं विचिंति-
तं यत्स्वदुःखं प्रजानाथे निवेदनीयमिति स्वदुःखं तन्निवेदनमूलभू-
तं शास्त्रं च लिखित्वा सम्राजः श्रीसोरसाहवस्य सविधे कलकत्ताख्यरा-
जधान्यां प्रेषितमासीत् तच्छ्रुत्वा ततस्तेन सर्वभौमेन मदर्थं काश्यां
किंचिद्वदाज्ञप्तं तेन मम भव्यं जातं इतः परं वुद्देलखंडाख्यराष्ट्राधी-²
शस्य चेदानीं मदुपरि महाननुग्रहोस्ति स्वराट् (sic) श्रीशोरसाहवकृते स्व-
राष्ट्रात्तेन किंचित्पारितोषिकं प्रेषितमस्ति तन्मत्सविधेस्ति इ-
दानीं श्रूयते ते तु स्वदेशं प्रस्थिता इत्यतश्चार्जवपत्रं संदिग्धार्थनि-
र्णयसभापरपर्यायकौशलाधिष्ठातृषु प्रेषितमस्ति ते यदाज्ञापये-
युस्तद्विद्धामि यदाज्ञापयेयुस्तद्विद्धामि यद्वा वारा-
ण्यस्यामेव कस्यचित्साहवस्य निकटे नयामि सम्राजः श्रीशोरसा-
[ह]वस्यानुकंपातो मम कल्याणमासीदहमप्यहर्निशं तदीयं भव्य-
माशासे इदानीं श्रीमद्भिर्यदाज्ञप्यते तत्करवाणीत्यलं सर्वज्ञकल्पेषु

(On docket)

1798/ Rec. 22 May/for translation/

J. Stracey/Sub-Secretary/

(In a different hand) came by dawk/without any
letter/accompg therefore/not to be translated.

स्वस्तिश्रामान्नारवत्नावानमडलमहनष्ठरव्यापितकीर्तिरंगिणीधवत्नीहु
 तशेषदिगंतरालेषु श्रीमतदाचारविविधशास्त्रविचारविनिर्जितार
 मोदारविद्वज्जनगोष्ठलंकारेषु श्रीश्रीश्रीश्रीकोशत्नाधिष्ठातेषु कंह
 एःसत्याशिषांगरायोवित्तरांतुतराम् स्वादंतोमयानिवेद्यते तद्यथानि
 वेशनमस्माकं गुवातियरार्थेन गरुदभिधारं च कंहरवासद्विश्वानि
 यांहारनगरद्वारानीनिवसामि महताध्यासेनाहर्दिवंशास्त्रमधीत्यस्थितं
 क्षेरकंमसदुःस्वमुभितं यद्वशनमतीर्चित्तेत्पन्ना ततद्विविचिति
 तंयत्वदुःखंवजानाथेनिवेदनीयमिति स्वदुःखंतन्त्रिवेदनमूलम्
 तंशारव्वचलिनिन्ना समाजःश्रीशोरसाहवस्यसदिधकलकत्तारव्यरा
 ज एत्याख्येषितमासीत् तच्छ्रुत्वाततर्केनसार्वभौमेनमद्येष्वश्या
 क्षितिवदाज्ञसंतेनस्मैभव्यंजातं इतःश्रवुद्देत्वर्वजा त्यगष्ठुधी
 शस्यचेदानींसदुपरिमहाननुग्रहोस्ति स्वरावृश्रीशोरसाहवद्वेत्व
 राष्ट्राज्ञेनदिनित्वारितोयिकंषेषितमस्ति तन्मत्सविधेस्ति इ
 त्वानींश्रूयतेतेतु स्वद्वेषाप्यस्थिताऽत्यतआर्जिवपव्रंसंदिभ्यायैमि
 णेयसमापरपर्योग्यकोशत्नाधिष्ठातेषुषेषितमस्ति तेयदाज्ञापये
 युस्तद्विद्धामि अद्वाज्ञापयेयुलहितवेवषेषितमस्ति अह्वावारा
 गस्यामेवकस्यचिकाहवस्यनिकटेनम्यामि समाजःश्रीशोरसा
 व्यवस्थानुकपातामन्त्रकहत्यागाम श्रीरहगप्यहनिशंतद्वैभव्य
 माशासे इदानींश्रीमद्विवेदाज्ञप्यतेनत्करवालीत्यलंसवैज्ञकल्पेषु

LAUDATORY VERSES IN KASHINATH
PANDIT'S LETTER

(OR 3 June 1801 No. 349)

बाहुच्छायां प्रजास्ते सततमधिगताः शेषते वीतशंका आतंकाढ्या
अमंतो दिशि दिशि रिपवो नैव निद्रां लभते न्याये[नो]व्यां चतुष्णा-
ज्जिरविहतपदः स्थापितोभूद्व्युपस्ते किं ब्रूमः पुण्यकीर्त्तिनितिभ-
वसि नृपालाटमान्टीन । भूप १ सिंधोः पारं प्रयाता निपतित
पृतनास्त्यल्क(क)वंतो ममत्वं राष्ट्रे दुर्गे च कोशे रणभूवि भवता वत्स-
लत्वेन मुक्ताः प्रात् प्राच्यामुदीच्य प्रतिदिनमरयो मंडलं च-
डरश्मेस्तद्गोलभ्रांतिभाजो दधति विकलतां लाटमान्टी[न] भूप २

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LETTER FROM THE PURI PRIESTS
TO LORD WELLESLEY
(OR 24 July 1804 No. 345)

॥श्रीस्वामीजगन्नाथजीसहाय॥

॥ श्रीमदिष्टदेवोपासनाप्रभावविभावितक्षितिभारोत्तारणपरायणेषु¹ निजभुज-
॥ वीर्याश्रितशौर्यचर्यापर्याप्तभूमंडलांतर्वर्त्तिरिपुमण्डलप्रतापनिर्वापणपणीकृ-
॥ तम्भीगणगीयमानगुणगणाश्रेयेषु सत्कीर्तिकीर्तनप्रवर्त्तनासक्तजगज्जनेषु इं-
॥ गरेजकुलमलप्रकाशकैकभास्करेषु देववैष्णवव्राद्वाणरक्षादीक्षितेषु नवा-
॥ वमुस्तताव²मालिअलकाव³असरफ⁴अलअसराफमारकोइमवृलजली⁵गोरन-
रज-
॥ नरल⁶वहादुरदामअकवालहु⁷इतिनामयेयेषु श्रीमत्सु समस्तपुरुषोत्तमक्षेत्रवासि
॥ नां श्रीमतां सतां महतां⁸ समस्तवैष्णवानां⁹राजगुरुप्रभूतीनामशेषव्राद्वाणानां
पद्मत्रिं-
॥ शन्नियोगनायककृष्णचंद्रमहापात्र¹⁰प्रभूतिसेवकानां च परमाशिषोविलसन्तु-
॥ तरां श्रीजगन्नाथस्य महाप्रभोरिन्द्रानुसारेण नवावसाहेवस्याज्ञया च
श्रीमंदिरे श्रीजग-
॥ नाथस्वामिनः इंगरेजवहादुरस्यावधानपूर्वकप्रयत्नेन ससहायानामस्माकं संप्र-
॥ ति प्रावल्यमासीत् अतः कारणादेवास्माकं नैश्चित्यं सुखं च भायानुसारे-
णागतं त-
॥ स्माद्वयं सर्वे क्षेत्रवासिनः सदाशीर्वचनानि कुर्महे ते वयं सर्वे भवत्संस्थानं
प्रति मं-
॥ गलं प्रेषयितुमिन्द्रामः एवमेव च श्रीक्षेत्रे सर्वदा भवतामधिकारः स्यादिति
विचिंतया-
॥ मः भवद्यशोविषयचिंतायां श्रीजगदीशस्वामिमंदिरे भवत्प्रभुत्वं लोकमुखा-
क्तकर्मच्छाण-¹¹
॥ खात्सूचनाच्च प्रागेव निरचैष्मं संप्रति यथानिश्चयं नेत्रद्वारानुभवामः
भवत्पक्षाणां

॥ युद्धोद्यमवेलायामनंतरे रिपुपराजये तद्विद्रावणे च याद्वक् पराक्रममद्राक्षमः
ताद्वक्-

॥ पराक्रमं न कस्याप्यपश्याम न वा कस्यापि द्रक्ष्यामः तत्समये एवं तात्पर्येण
सर्वेषां पा-

॥ लनं कृतं कस्यापि कुतश्चिदुपप्लवो नाभूत् तत्समयेस्माभिर्भगवत्परिचर्या-
नियुक्त्वैर्

॥ त्रस्थले युद्धं जातमिति न ज्ञातं प्राचीनाधिकारे यत्र कुत्रचित्स्वल्पकार्येऽस्माकं

॥ वाधास्थिता अधुना सर्वप्रकारेण भवदधिकारात्मुखमनुभूयते अस्मा-
भिस्सत्यत-

॥ या आशास्यते यथा ब्रह्मादिभिर्द्विर्मसंस्थापनमकारि तथैव भवान्करोतु इति
इंगरेज-

॥ वहादुरस्य सावधानतयास्माकं सर्वेषां प्राणानां धनानां च रक्तां निशम्या-
न्येभ्यो वृ-

॥ दावनवाराणस्यादिदेशेभ्यः रामनाथान् द्वारिकातः सर्वे समागत्य भगवद्वर्षणं

॥ कृत्वा वैकुंठारोहणमधिकरिष्यन्ति अत्र वयमपि भगवद्ग्रेऽहोरात्रं
सर्वदाइच्छामः

॥ इंगरेजवहादुरस्याधिकारः सदा जागर्तुं श्रीभगवान्भवंतं प्रत्यहं स्वच्छा-
यायां स्थाप-

॥ यित्वा उत्तरोत्तरं वृद्धिं प्रापयतु वयं सर्वे भवत्कल्याणपेत्तिणो भवत्पा-
लनया निर्भयाः

॥ संतः जगन्नाथस्य सेवायां नियुक्ताः स्थास्यामः॥ ॥ भोगोपि साधयति योग-

॥ फलं हि यत्र जातिं विशोधयति भोजनमव्यवस्थं एताद्वगस्य महिमा
पुरुषोत्तमस्य दा-

॥ सीपदद्वयरजांसि पुनर्निति देवान् १ श्रुतिस्मृतिभ्यां गहनो हि पंथाः वुधा
मुधाधावत

॥ किं श्रमेण न्यग्रोधमूले लवणोदतीरे ब्रह्मामृतं लोचनपेयमस्ति ॥ कुकुरस्य
मुख्या-

॥ द्वृष्टं यदन्नं पावनं महत् ब्रह्मादैरपि भोक्तव्यं भाग्यतो यदि लभ्यते ॥¹²
योगिनां यो ह-

॥ दाकाशो विद्युद्धरणः प्रकाशते स एव दारुरूपेण नीलाद्रौ भासते महः ॥
त्रहादिश्वप-

॥ चांतोनां यत्प्रसादान्नभोजने न च पंक्तेहि भेदोस्ति जगन्नाथाय मंगलं ॥
लक्ष्मीश्व-

॥ अ सरस्वती तदुभयं यद्यस्ति नोदारता तच्चापि त्रितयं घट्टेत कतिचित्पुरायैर-
॥ गण्येरपि सौजन्यं न विजृंभते तदपिचेन्नास्त्येव धर्मे रतिस्तत्सर्वं जगदी-
श्वरस्य कृपया

॥ त्वय्येव संराजते ॥

[*On the Margin*]

(Col-1) *In Oriya*

श्रीगोपीनाथशरणं
छत्तीशानीयोगनायक
कृष्णचन्द्रमहापात्रंकर
ये दसकत्

(Col-2) *In Devanagari*

श्रीजगन्नाथन्नी
एदस्तक जगन्नाथ-
वल्लभके अधिकारी गु-
रुमुखदासजी का
श्रीराममहंतराम
रत्नदास

(Col-3) *In Devanagari*

सुरदासु (?) गुरुजी
श्री [_ x] गयाराम
श्रीगापाला (_ ?) जी
श्रीइन्द्रलालजी

In Devanagari

श्रीराम
एदस्तक बडा अखाडा के महंत
चेतनदासजी का

(Col-4) *In Kanarese*

श्रीमंत रत्ननृसिंहाचारि स्वामि
[]

<i>In Devanagari</i>	श्रीमते रामानुजाय नमः महंत सौम्यजा- मात्रजि
(Col-5) <i>In Telugu</i>	श्रीराजगुरु उ तिरु मल पिचिंडि वेंकटाचार स्वामी
<i>In Devanagari</i>	श्रीराम श्रीरामजी महंत छो टे संत वडेसंत रामसेवकदास जी
(Col-6) <i>In Devanagari</i>	श्रीराम महंत श्रीरामदासजी
<i>In Bengali</i>	श्रीराधाकृष्णः । श्रीकृष्णचन्द्रदेवगोस्वामि
<i>In Mithili</i>	श्रीशीतलानन्ददेवस्य गोस्वामि श्रीगोपीनाथदेवगोस्वामिनः ¹³
<i>In Devanagari</i>	श्रीराम अधिकारी नारायणदास
(Col-7) <i>In Devanagari</i>	श्रीराम श्रीमहं त जराम दासजी
(Col-8) <i>In Devanagari</i>	प्रमाणमिदं जगन्नाथ राजगुरोः ॥

LEGEND ON YASOVANT RAO
HOLKAR'S COIN

(OR 26 February 1808 No. 85)

श्री

लक्ष्मीकांतपदाभोजब्रमराई(यि)तचेतस ॥ यसबंतस्य विख्याता
मुद्रौ(द्रै)षा प्र(पृ)थिवि(वी)तले ॥ ॥ इंद्रप्रस्थस्थितोराजा
चक्रवर्ती शु(भू)मंडले ॥ तत्प्रसादि(दा)त्कृता मुद्रालोकेम्मि(न) वै
विराजते ॥ ॥ इ(शा)के १७२८॥

LEGAL OPINION DELIVERED BY FIVE
BENARES PANDITS ON A QUESTION
OF SUCCESSION

(OR 1822 No Date)

श्रीसिद्धैश्वर्यै नमः ॥

[* * * *]¹ नागरज्ञाहणाः सोदरभगिनीयुक्ता अविभक्ता एव संभूय
राजकार्याणि गृहकृत्यानि च कुर्वा-
[णा आस]² न तेषु च केचन सापत्याः केचन निरपत्या आसन् ततः कति-
पयेन कालेन तेष्येको भ्राता सप-
[त्नीक एको]³ भ्रातुष्पुत्रः सपत्नीक भगिनीपौत्राश्चावशिष्टाः अन्ये सर्वे
स्वर्गताः ततः कतिपयेन
[कालेन भ्रातुष्]⁴ पुत्रः स्वर्गतः तदनंतरं कतिपयैरहोभिः भ्रातापि यो यो
धर्मो यो यश्च
[आचार-व्यव]⁵ हारो यथा मयानु[ष्ठित⁶]ः स सहस्रवत्सरपयेत अनंत-
वत्सरपर्यंत भोगोद्देशेन राज-
[दत्तस्थावरोत्पन्न]⁷ द्रव्यव्ययेन तथानुष्ठेय इति समयं कृत्वा स्वर्गतः तदा
तत्पत्नी तद्भ्रातु-
[ष्पुत्रपत्नी भ]⁸ गिनीपौत्राश्च स्थिताः ते चैकत्रैव भोजनादिव्यवहारं कुर्वतो
मरणसमये च तत्कृतं
[समयं (?)]⁹ [त]¹⁰ थैव [परि]¹¹ पालयन्तस्तिष्ठन्ते ते तेषां
सर्वेषां तदिपतामहान्यर्जिते तथातद्भ्रातुपंचकार्जि-
[ते]¹² [इदं तु] [स्थावरजंगमात्मकं¹³] परं परागतधनवत्त्वयाभोक्तव्यं ये ये
त्वदीयदायभागिनो भावि-
नस्तैरपी[दं]¹⁴ निरंतरं सदा भोक्तव्यमित्येवं लिखितदानपत्रसाहृत
तद्भ्रातुपंचकान्यतमा-

[य राजा]^{१६} दत्ते च स्थावरजंगमात्मके सकलेषि धने तत्कृतसमय-
परिपालने च किं समोधिकार आ-
[होस्ति]^{१७} दन्यतमाभावेऽन्यतमस्य उत एतेषु सर्वेषु जीवत्स्वेव राजा इति
विदुषः प्रति अंकर्षि व^{१८}.

[सु]वसुंधरामिताद्वीयज्यैष्टासितवृत्तीयायां प्रश्नः ॥

[वारा]^{१९} णसीनिवासिविदुषामुक्तरम् ॥ मिताद्वरा^{२०} वीरमित्रोदय^{२१}-
व्यवहार^{२२} माधवीयादिनिवंधेषु विधृतानां मनुविष्णुनारदवृह-
[स्पतियाज्ञवल]^{२३} क्यादिमहर्षिवचसां पर्यालोचनया पूर्वोक्त तत्पूर्वजार्जिते
तद्भ्रात्रार्जिते तदर्जिते पूर्वोक्तरीत्यालिखितदानपत्रसहिते
[आतृपंच]^{२४} कान्यतमाय राजा[द]त्ते च स्थावरजंगमात्मके सकलेषि
तद्वने आदौ तत्पत्न्यास्तदभावे तद्भ्रातुष्पुत्रपत्न्यास्तदभावे
तद्भगि-

[नीपौत्रा]^{२५} णामधिकारः एव तत्कृतसमयपालनाधिकारोपिनिर्णयः
तत्कृतसमयपरिपालनस्य तद्रिकथसाध्यत्वेन तद्रि-

[कथभा]^{२६} गिन एव तत्परिपालनस्य न्यायप्राप्तत्वात् तेषु सत्सु राजस्तु
नाधिकारः सर्वेषां दायभाजामभावे एव तदधिकारवोधनात्

[ब्राह्मण]^{२७} धने तु नतरां तस्याधिकारः तद्वनग्रहनस्य राजो निषिद्धत्वात्
तत्रापि नागरधने सुतरां नाधिकारः नागरजातीयानां त^{२८}.

[द]भावे न राजोपि तथैव तत्पालनस्यावश्यकत्वात् किंच तत्कृतं समयं
राजा [न]^{२९} नाशयेक्लिंतु पालयेदेव संरक्षेत्समयं राजेति

[व्यवहार]^{३०} माधवलिखितनारदवचनात^{३१} ॥ अथ तानि वचनानि
लिख्यन्ते ॥ पत्नीदुहितरश्चैव पितरौ आतरस्तथा ॥ तत्सुता गो-

[त्रजा बंधु]^{३२} शिष्यसब्रह्मचारिणः ॥ एषामभावे पूर्वस्यधनभागुन्तरोत्तरः ॥
स्वर्यातस्य ह्यपुत्रस्य सर्ववर्णेष्वयं विधिरिति

[याज्ञवल्क्य^{३३}] वचनं मिताद्वरायाम्^{३४} ॥ अपुत्रधनं पत्न्यभिगामी
तदभावे दुहितृगामि तदभावे पितृगामि तदभावे मातृगामि त-
दभावे आतृगामि तदभावे आतृपुत्रगामि तदभावे वंधुगामि तदभावे
सकुल्यगामि तदभावे सहाध्यायिगामि तदभावे ब्राह्मण ध-

॥ न [वजे राज-]^{३५} गामीति विष्णुवचनं^{३६} ॥ बंधुरत्र सपिंडः सकुल्यः सगोत्र इति तद्व्याख्यानं च वीरमित्रोदये । बंधवः सपिंडास्ते च सगो-
॥ त्रा असगोत्राश्चेति तद्व्याख्यानं श्रीमती^{३७} समाख्यायां तद्व्याख्यायां
च ॥ आग्राये स्मृतिस्त्वे च लोकाचारे च सूरिभिः ॥
॥ शरीराद्वे(द्वे) स्मृता जाया पुण्यापुण्यफले समा ॥ यस्य नोपरता भार्या
देहाद्वै तस्य जीवति । जीवत्यद्वशरीरेर्थं कथमन्यः
॥ समाप्त्युयात् ॥ सकुल्यैर्विद्यमानैस्तु पितृमातृसनाभिभिः ॥ अपुत्रस्य
प्रमीतस्य पत्नी तद्भागहारिणीति वृहस्पतिवचनं^{३८} वी-
॥ रमित्रोदये ॥ ये पुत्राः क्षत्रविट् शुद्धाः पत्नीभ्रातृविवर्जिताः ॥ तेषां धनं
हरेद्राजैति वृहस्पतिवचनं^{३९} पत्नीस्त्वे क्षत्रादि-
॥ धनानधिकारं राज्ञो वदन्त्राह्यणविषये तत्स्त्वे तदनधिकारं कैमुतिक-
न्यायेनाभिप्रैति अत्र पत्नीभ्रातृविवर्जिता इति स-
॥ ब्रह्मचारिपर्यंताभावोपलक्षकमिति तद्व्याख्यानं च वीरमित्रोदये ।
सर्वाभावे हरेन्नृप^{४०} इति । अहाये ब्राह्मणाधनं राजा
नित्यमिति^{४१} मनुवचनं वीरमित्रोदये ॥ अन्यत्र ब्राह्मणात् किंतु राजा
धर्मपरायण^{४२} इति नारदवचनं च वीरमित्रोदये ॥
॥ यस्मिन्देशे य आचारो व्यवहारः कुलस्थितिः ॥ तथैव परिपाल्योसौ यदा
वशमुपास्त^{४३} इति याज्ञवल्क्यवचनं मिताक्ष-
॥ रायाम् ॥ इमान्येव वचनानि व्यवहारमाधवीये अंकर्पिवसुवसुंधरा-
मिताब्दीयज्येष्ठासितसप्तम्याम् ॥^{४४}
संमतोयमर्थो भट्टोपनामक प्रभाकरशर्मणः
अत्रार्थे संमतिः श्रीप्राणनाथाचार्यस्य
संमतिरत्र धुले इत्युपनामकसदाशिवशर्मणः
सम्मतोर्थो शेषोपाहृकृष्णशर्मणः
सममंस्तामुमर्थं तात्याशर्मा गणकः

LEGAL OPINION ON THE PARTIBILITY
OF ROYAL ESTATES

(OR 6 June 1825)

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श्री : द्विजातीतरजातीये राजनि एकस्यामुत्पन्नं ज्येष्ठं सुतं विभज्यान्यतरस्यां विवाहितायां सव-
र्णायां पुत्रान्तरमुत्पाद्य विपंचिते तदनु^१ तद्विभक्त-विभक्तजयोः कथं दायभाग
ईत्यपेद्यायां विभ-
क्तजः स्वपितुस्वत्वास्पदीभूतं यत्समन्यूनाधिकरूपमृक्यं तत्पूर्वजोपि प्राग्वि-
भागलब्धं यत्
न्यूनमधिकं समं वा तत्त्वैव पालयेत् इति शास्त्रीया व्यवस्था । तथा हि
अर्द्ध (द्वूर्व) म्बि भागाजातस्तु पि-
त्र्यमेव हरेद्वन्म् । संसृष्टास्ते न वा ये स्युर्विभजेत स तैस्सहेति मनुः^१ ।
वृहस्पतिश्च^२ । पित्रा सह विभक्ता
ये सापत्न्याः वा सहोदराः । जघन्याश्चैव एतेषां पितृभागहरास्तु ते ।
अनीशः पूर्वजाः पित्र्ये आतृभागे वि-
भक्तजः । पुत्रैः सह विभक्तेन पित्रा यत्स्वयमर्जितम् । विभक्तजस्य तत्सर्व-
मनीशाः पूर्वजास्मृता इति । न्यू-
नाधिकविभक्तानां धर्मः पितृकृतः स्मृत इति याज्ञवल्क्यः^३ । पित्रैव तु विभक्ता
ये समन्यूनाधिकैर्धनैः ।
तेषां स एव धर्मस्यात्सर्वस्यैव पिता प्रमुरिति नारदः^४ । समन्यूनाधिका
भागाः पित्रा येषां प्रकल्पिताः ।
तथैव ते पालनीया विनेयास्ते स्युरन्यथेति वृहस्पतिः^५ । विभागनिहृवे तु
विभावनार्हो विभावनीयः । अ-
विभावयितव्यश्चेत्पुनर्विभाज्य इति व्यवस्थितिः । तत्र विभागनिहृवे ज्ञाति-
वंधुसात्त्विविलेखितैः । वि-

भागभावना ज्ञेया गृहक्षेत्रैश्च यौतकैः⁶ । विभागधर्मसंदेहे वंधुसाक्ष्यभिलेखितैः । विभागभावना कार्या न भवेद्वैवकी क्रियेति⁷ याज्ञवलक्ष्यः । विभागधर्मसंदेहे दायादीनां विनिर्णयः । ज्ञातिभिर्भागलेख्येन पृथक्कार्यप्रवर्त्तनादिति नारदः ।⁸ विभागे यत्र संदेहो दायादानां परस्परेम् । पुनर्विभागः कर्त्तव्यः पृथक् [क्] स्थानस्थितैरपीतिः⁹ मनु [:] प्रमाणम् । पुनर्विभाज्यत्वे तूभास्यां चैतनाचैतनचराचरात्मकमखिलमृक्षं मातृभागेन वा स्वीयेन च सूममेव विभजनीयमिति स्थितिः । अत्र विभजे-रन्सुताः पित्रोरुर्द्ध (द्वूर्व) रिक्थमृणं सममिति याज्ञवलक्ष्यः¹⁰ । अत ऊर्द्ध (द्वूर्व) पितुः पुत्रा विभजेरन्धनं सममिति नारदः¹¹ । ऊर्द्ध (द्वूर्व) पितुश्च मातुश्च समेत्य भ्रातरः समम् । भजेरन् पैतृकं रिक्थं मनीशास्ते हि जीवतो इति मनुः¹² । चशद्वोपादानेपि मरणस-मुच्यो न विवक्षितः । अतं एव मदनरत्ने स्मृतिसंग्रहे पितृद्रव्यविभागः स्यात् जीवन्त्यामपि मातरि । न स्वतंत्रतया स्वास्यं यस्मान्मातुः पतिं विना । यद्येकजाता¹⁴ वहवः समाना जातिसंख्यया । सामान्यात्मै¹⁵ विभक्तव्यं मातृभागेन धर्मतः । सवर्णा भिन्नसंख्या ये पुंभाग स्तेषु शस्यते इति वृहस्पतिः । समानजाति-संख्या ये जातास्त्वेकेन सूनवः । विभिन्नमातृकास्तेषां मातृभागः प्रशस्यत-इति व्यास[:] प्रमाणं¹⁶ । यद्यपि शुद्रेषु च स्वस्वर्कर्मसंपन्नेषु च कलौ च समजातिसंख्यकविमातृजेषु¹⁷ च पितुरुर्द्ध (द्वूर्व) विभागे चोद्धारस्य निषिद्धत्वं तथापि ज्येष्ठं श्रेष्ठयित्वैव पश्चाद्राज्ञा चैतदुभौ (समांश)-भाजौ¹⁸ कार्याविति विशेषः अत्र हि । शूद्रस्य तु सवर्णैव नान्या भार्या विधीयते । तस्या जाता¹⁹-समांशाः स्युर्यदि पुत्रशतं भवेत ।²⁰ सम-

वर्णास्तु ये जाताः सर्वे पुत्राः द्विजन्मनाम् । उद्धारं ज्यायसे दत्ता भजे-
 रन्नितरे समम्²¹ । १। उद्धारो न द-
 शस्वस्ति संपन्नानां स्वकर्मसु । यत्किंचिदेव देयं तु ज्यायसे सानवर्द्ध-
 नमिति²² तत्वशुक्तिः²³ । अयं चोद्धा-
 रभागः कलौ निषिद्धः कलिवर्ज्येषु पाठादिति व्यवहारमयूखः । यद्येकजाता
 वहव इत्यादिपूर्व-
 लिखितवृहस्पतिः । विभजेरन्सुताः पित्रोरुद्धर्व(द्वर्व)मित्यादिपूर्वे(र्वो)लिखित-
 याज्ञवल्क्यनारदमनुवाक्या
 नि । उपसर्जनं प्रधानस्य धर्मतो नोपपद्यते । पिता प्रधानं प्रजनेत्समाद्वर्मेण
 , तं भजेदिति मनुः²⁴ ॥ य-
 त्किंचिदेवदेयमिति तत्त्वशुक्तिरपि पूर्वोद्देशितेषु क्रमेण प्रमाणम् । अथवा
 देशजातिकुलव्यवहारे-
 णापि विभागो धर्म एवेति कात्यायनः²⁵ । देशस्य जातेः संघस्य धर्मो
 प्रामस्य यो भृगुः । उदितः स्यात्स तेनैव
 दायभागं प्रकल्पयेत् । भृगुराहरिति(हेति)शेषः । समयाचारका धर्माः देशजाति-
 कुलोद्भवाः प्रामाचाराः
 परिग्राहाः ये च विध्यविरोधिन इति मदनपार(रि)जाते । श्रुतिस्मृति-
 विहितो धर्म(ः) तदलाभे शिष्टाचारः प्र
 माणमिति वसिष्ठः²⁶ । सरस्वतीद्वशद्वत्योः देवनद्योर्यदंतरं । तं देवनिर्मितं
 देशं ब्रह्मावर्तं प्रचक्षते कुरुक्षे-
 त्रं च मत्स्याश्च पांचालासुरसेनजाः²⁷ । एष ब्रह्मर्षिः [देशो] ²⁸ वै ब्रह्मा
 वर्तादनंतरः । एतदेशप्रसुतस्य सकाशा-
 दग्रजन्मनः । स्वं स्वं चरित्रं शिक्षेरन् पृथिव्यां सर्वमानवा इति मनुः²⁹ । अत्र
 निर्णेता पूर्वजं स्वरुच्या किं-
 चिद्विशेषयित्वा तदनु ज्येष्ठानुजौ समौ कुर्यादिति पूर्वोलिखितसर्वव्यवस्थाना-
 निष्कर्षः ॥
 अत्र साधारणादायभागप्रतिपादकार्षपद्यप्रतिपादितेमा व्यवस्था अप्रमाण-
 मित्यपि न वक्तव्यम् ॥
 अनेकगुणधर्मिणां राजामात्यमंत्रिपुरोहितवैद्यप्राज्ञादीनां प्रत्येकैकस्य पृथक्
 पृथक् असाधारण-

व्यवस्थावाक्यानामदर्शनात् । पुनो राज्यस्य विभाज्येष्व^{३०} पाठान्नाप्यविभा-
 ज्यशंका प्रत्युतः सर्वकालिक-
 राज्यविभागस्तु शास्त्रातः प्रतीयत एव । अत्र प्रतीपकाकांक्षांयां^{३१} । वंशं
 प्रियब्रतस्यापि निवोध नृपसत्तम । ये
 नारदादात्मविद्यामधिगम्य पुनर्महीम् । भुक्त्वा विभज्य पुत्रेभ्य ऐश्वरं
 समग्रात्पदमिति^{३२} । आग्रीध्रसुता^{३३}
 स्ते मातुरनुग्रहादौत्पत्तिकेनैव संहनवलोपेताः पित्रा विभक्ता आत्मतुल्य-
 नामानि यथाभागं जम्बुद्वी-
 पवर्षाणि बुभुजूरिति च भागवतम् । ततः स नीपो^{३४} राजर्धिस्तस्मै
 निरवशेषतः । भलंदाय^{३५} ददौ ब्रह्म-
 ननस्त्रिग्रामं महात्मने । प्राप्नास्त्रविद्या(द्यः) स यदा पितृव्यतनयानिमान्
 वसुरातादिकान्नुत्रान्
 दिष्ठ्यस्य तु महात्मनः । अयाचत स राज्याद्वं पितृपैतामहोचितमिति
 मार्कराण्डेयम-
 पि । कोशलेषु कुशं वीरमुत्तरेषु तथालवम् ॥ अभिपिच्य महात्मानाद्वृभौ रामः
 कुशीलवौ । र-
 थानां त्रिसहस्राणि नागानामयुतानि च । दश चाश्वसहस्राणि एकैकस्य
 धनं ददौ वहुरन्नौ वहु-
 धानौ हृष्टपुष्टजनाश्रयौ । स्वे पुरे प्रेषयामास आतरौ तौ कुशीलवाविति
 रामायणं च । अजात-
 शत्रोः प्रतियच्छ दायं तितिक्षतो दुर्विषहं तवागः । सहानुजो यत्र वृक्तोद
 राहिः श्वसन् रुषा य-
 न्त्वमलं विभेषि । इति तृतीयस्कंधे^{३६} धृतराष्ट्रं प्रति विदुरवचनम् । नाभागो
 नभगापत्यं य
 तु तं आतरं कविम् । यविष्टं व्यभजन् दायं ब्रह्मचारिणमागतमिति नवम
 स्कंधः^{३७} । राजा तु पां-
 डुरभवत् महात्मा लोकविश्रुतः । स राजा तस्य ते पुत्राः पितुर्दायापहारिणः
 मा तात कलहं का-
 र्षी राज्यस्याद्वं प्रदीयताम् । यतो भीष्मस्ततो द्रोणो यद्भीष्मस्त्वाह तत्कुरु
 दीयतां पांडुपत्रेभ्य[१] रा-

ज्याद्वमरिकषेण ॥ क्रमागतं राज्यमिदं परेषां हर्तुं कर्थं शक्ष्यसि दुर्विनीत
 प्रयच्छ राज्याद्वमपेतमोह(ः) सवाहनं त्वं सपरिच्छदं च । निगृह्ण सुहृदां
 मन्युं शाधि राज्यं यथो-
 चितम् । स्वमंशं पाण्डुपुत्रेभ्यः प्रदाय भरतर्षभ । मा तात श्रियमायान्तीमव-
 मंस्था समुद्यताम् । अ-
 द्वं प्रदाय पर्थेभ्यो महती श्रियमाप्स्यसीत्युद्योगे दुर्योधनं प्रति भीष्मद्रोण-
 गांधारीश्री-
 कृष्णवाक्यक्रमः³⁸ । यदस्माकं विभो वृत्तं पुरा वै मंत्रनिश्चये । अद्वं-
 राज्यस्य गोविंद विदितं सर्वरा-
 जसु । तच्चेह्यादसंगे नमस्कृत्यानवमन्य च प्रियं मे स्यान्महावाहो मुच्येरन्म-
 हतो भयादित्य-
 पि तत्रैव श्रीकृष्णं प्रत्यर्जुनवाक्यम् । महानंदसुतो राजन् शूद्रगर्भोदभवो
 वली । महापश्य इति
 स्यातो नन्दः नन्दः नन्दः नन्दः । तस्य चाष्टौ भविष्यन्ति सुमाल्यप्रमुखाः सुता
 य इमां भोक्ष्यन्ति
 महिं राजानः स्म शतं समाः इति द्वादशसंधवाक्यम् । आकृतयुगान्त-
 कलियुगावधिकरा-
 ज्यस्य पितृकर्तृक्ष्रातृकर्तृकदायभागप्रत्यायकतयावसेयमित्यलं पल्लवि-
 तेन ॥ १ ॥
 पंडित ठाकुरदास ॥ रामप्रसाद भट्टा(sic)चार्ज(sic) निकामिश्र ॥ राम-
 कृष्ण ॥

VERSE BY JADUNATH PANDIT
(OR 1828 No Date)

श्रीर्जयति

सुवर्णमुक्ताकलितं सदर्थप्रतिपत्तिकृत् राजानमहीतिछत्रं छायानिवहवाहकम् १
स एषगतप्रत्यागतादिवहुतरवन्धगर्भश्छत्रवन्धः छत्रवन्धचित्रम्

कालिकाममलाभाच्यशालातुरसापते ।
कालिकाममलाभाच्यशालातुरसापते ॥

LEGAL OPINION ON SUCCESSION OBTAINED
BY RANI SUKHAN OF BURIYA

(OR 12 August 1829)

श्रीगणेशायनमः ॥ पत्युः पुत्रस्य च मरणानंतर-
मेका मृतपुत्रापराऽजातपुत्रा तत्सपारकी(पत्री) चोभा-
वेव तन्मृतपतिपुत्रस्वामिकचराचरत्मकाखि
लैश्वर्यश्रियं विभज्य ये पृथक्पृथगतिष्ठतां तयोरे-
का चेहैवात्पंचत्वमा[प]च्येत तदा तत्सपत्नी तद्वाया-
दतया तद वक्ष्य(रिक्ष्य?)लभेन्वेति ब्राह्मादिवि-
वाहपंचकोढानपत्यस्त्रीधनस्य तावद्भर्तुगामि-
त्वात्तद्वाभावे तत्पत्यासन्नगामित्वात्तपत्यास-
न्नेषु च पुत्राद्व(द्व)भावे भार्याया एव प्रत्यासन्नतरत्वा-
त् मुख्यदायादतया सपत्नी लभेत्वेति शास्त्री-
या व्यवस्था । तथाहपराकें¹ मनुः । ब्राह्मदै[वा] षगां-
धर्व प्राजापत्येषु यद्भवेत् । अतीतायामप्रजसि
भर्तुरेव तदिष्यत इति² । तथा च याज्ञवल्क्यः³ । अ-
प्रजस्त्रीधनं भर्तुर्ब्र(ब्रा)ह्मादिषु चतुष्वापि दुहित-
णां प्रमूरा चेच्छेषेषु पितृगमि तदिति । अस्यार्थः ।
त्रा (ब्रा) ह्मदैवार्षप्राजापत्यविवाहसंस्कृतायां भार्यायां
मृतायां तद्रनं भर्ता गृन्हा(ह्मा)ति तदभावे भर्तुर्कुल-
प्रत्यासन्नतरास्ते गृन्ही(ह्मी)युस्तदभावे पितृकुले ये प्र-
त्यासन्नास्ते इति विवेकः⁴ । शेषेषु आसुरगांधर्वरा-
क्षमपैशाचेषु विवाहेषु भार्यात्वं प्राप्तायां मृतायां
धनं मातापितरौ गृह्णीतः । प्रथमं माता तदभावे
पिता तदभावे पितृकुलप्रत्यासन्नबांधवास्तदभा-
वे भर्तुर्कुले ये प्रत्यासन्न[1]स्ते गृह्णीयुरिति मदनपारि-
जाते⁵ । अप्रजस्त्रियाः । पूर्वोक्तायाः । त्रा (ब्रा)ह्मदैवार्ष-

प्राजापत्येषु चतुर्षु विवाहेषु भार्यात्वं प्राप्तायाः । अ-
 तीतायाः । पूर्वोक्तं धनं । प्रथमं भर्ता भवति तद-
 भावे तत्प्रत्यासन्नानां^९ भवति । शेषेष्टा(ष्वा)सुर गांधर्व-
 राज्ञसपैशाचेषु च विवाहेषु तदप्रजल्लीधनं पितृ-
 गामि । माता च पिता च पितरौ तौ गच्छतीति पितृ-
 गामि । एकशेषनिर्दिष्टाया^{१०} अपि मातुः प्रथमं धनग्र-
 हणं पूर्वमेवोक्तं तदभावे[पितृ]^{११}स्तदभावे तत्प्रत्या-
 सन्नानां धनग्रहणं सर्वेष्वेव[वि]वाहेषु प्रसूताप-
 त्यवती चेहु हितृणां तद्वन्नं[भव]ति । अत्र दुहितृश-
 वदेन [दुहितृ] दुहितर उच्यते । सान्नादुहितृ[णांमा]तु दुहितरः ।
 शेषमित्यत्रोक्तत्वादिति मितान्नरा^{१२} । सपत्नीनि-
 षुपतिप्रत्यासन्नतायां च पन्नी दुहितरश्चैव पितरौ
 आतरस्तेथा । तत्सुताः गोत्रजबंधुशिष्यसब्रह्मा-
 चारिणाः । एषामभावे पूर्वस्य धनभागुत्तरोत्त-
 रः स्वर्यातस्य दा(अ)पुत्रस्य सर्ववर्णेष्वयं विधिरिति
 याज्ञवल्क्यः^{१०} । आम्राये स्मृतिसंत्रे (तत्त्वे) च लोकाचारे
 च सूरिभिः । शरीराद्वै स्मृता [जाया पुण्यापुण्यफले
 समा यस्य नोपरता] भार्या देहाद्वेष (द्वेष) तस्य जी-
 वि(व)ति जीवत्याद्वशरीरेर्थस्क(ङ्क)थमु(म)न्यः समाप्तुयादिति ।
 वृ(वृ)हस्पतिः^{११} । अपुत्रस्य धनं पत्न्यभिगामि तदभावे दु-
 हितृगामि^{१२} तदभावे आनुगामि तदभावे आनुपुत्रगा-
 मितदभावे बंधुगामि तदभावे सकुल्यगामि तदभा-
 वे सहाय(सहाध्यायि)गामि तदभावे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणधनवर्ज राजगामी-
 ति विष्णुरपि प्रमाणमित्यलम् ॥ श्रीरस्तु कल्यानमस्तु ॥

NEKARAM SHARMA'S LETTER TO
MACNAGHTEN

(OR 1833, September)

श्री : ।

सद्गुणसंपन्नप्रतापसद्यशोवृद्धं दितजनावनवा-
बलाटसाहब बहादरसभासोम¹ सदामात्यब्रा-
तसुधांशो महामहिम श्री ३युक्त मेकलाट- (sic)
नसाहबबहादर गरीबपरवर² = — — आशिषः
आश्र्यर्थमेतत्खलु भूमौ सांप्रतं समनुभूतप्र
नहि स्पार्शमणिं संस्पृश्य लोहपदार्थोनुभूयते
कुत्रापि केनचित्सुव(ब)र्णं सुव(ब)र्णमनुजायते तन्-
संपर्कात्किल नहि करिणि दृष्टे चीत्कारेण
तमनुमिमतेऽनुमातारः प्रत्यक्ष-परिकलितं
नानुमीयते तस्माद्वस्थितोप्यहं दिवानिशं
संदेह्मा (ह्मा) कि³ (sic) सुतरां विभुमणे किंच एकाम-
सिद्धिं पर(रि)हरतो द्वितीयापर्त्तिन्यायसमब-
लः । अतःपरं स्वदेहेन स्वदेशं गच्छामि
इति निश्चित्येदं निवेद्यते मया न कस्यापि
दोषः दुषधातोरिवास्माकं दोषसंपत्त-
ये गुणः⁴ सुखदुःखस्य न कोपि परो दाता
यदि पुनरपि सद्यः परीक्षां संपाद्य
कार्याद्योगः कार्यते चेत्तप्रार्थनमपि मदीयम्
शास्त्रज्ञात्मपु युष्मासु वर्वर्तु अन्येतु युष्मा
कं समाज्ञां प्रार्थयति तस्माद्वभवतः प्र-
भाणं नु कृतमेतत् किल
संवत् १८ श्रीनेकारामशर्मा वावद(दी)ति शुभं भूयात्सर्वतः
[] ९० मितीत्थं⁵ द्वितीयभाद्रवदि ८ शनौ शुभदा।

KENARAM SHARMA TO MACNAUGHTEN

(OR 5 Oct. 1833)

परमेश्वरो जयतितराम्

महामहिमाशेषशास्त्रविशारद गुणिगणाप्रगण्य धन्यमान्यतम श्रीलश्रीउलियम
हे मेकनाटन्साहेवसमीपेषु श्रीकेनारामदेवशर्मणः सविनयपुरःसरनिवेदन-
मिदम् अधीतव्याकरणा-
दिधर्मशास्त्रान्तेन मया प्रायशशिचरकालं स्वर्गीय जान् राइकेष्टवेष्ट¹ सा-
हेवानुकम्पया तत्पारिदत्यकर्मणैवावश्यपोष्यप्रतिपालनं कृतं ततोऽस्मा-
कम् सौभाग्यवशात्स्मिन्नूद्द्रव्वलोके प्राप्ते निरालंबेवेन च प्रसिद्धैक्जामि-
नेषनकमिटाध्यक्षपरीक्षकवृन्दारकवृन्दसमीपे परीक्षां दत्वा श्रीमतां
भवतां च स्वाक्षरितं प्रशंसापत्रमेकं प्राप्याद्याप्यसहायेन प्राप्तं न-
किंचित्कलं अतोऽधुना केवलं भवतः सहायं प्रार्थ्यते चेत्श्रीमतः सहाय-
तामवलंब्य(व्य) यत्किंचिद्राजकीयं कर्म प्राप्यते तदा तेनैव श्रीमतां
सुतरामत्यंतयशोवृद्धिर्भविष्यत्येवेति पुलाकः ॥०॥ ॥०॥ ॥०॥ ॥०॥
क्रीणीव्य मज्जीवनमेवपरायं अन्यं नचेदस्ति तवास्तिपुन्यं (एयम्) ।
प्राणेशदातर्यदि तेन दातुं यशोऽपि तावत्प्रभवामि गातुम् ॥
श्रीकेनारामदेवशर्मणः ।

KENARAM SHARMA TO MCNAUGHTEN
(OR 12 Oct. 1833)

गी : श्रीजयतितराम्

महामहिमवर विशेषगुणाकरदुष्टदण्डधरशिष्टशान्तिकर-
श्रीलश्रीउलियम हे मेकनाटन्साहेवास्मत्प्रतिपालकेषु
स्वर्गीयजानराइकेष्टवेष्टसाहेवपणिडतस्य श्रीकेनाराम देवशर्मणो
विनतिपूर्वकावेदनमिदम् वर्त्तमानमासीपविंशतिमदिने शनिवासरे
श्रीमतः समीपे मयैकं प्रशंसापत्रसमीलितं निवेदन¹पत्रं दत्तं संप्रति तद-
नुप्रहोत्तरं तत्प्रशंसापत्रं चोभयं प्रार्थ्यते येनाहंकृतार्थी भविष्यामीति ॥
अस्मिनस्य² (sic) सप्तविंशतिदिवसीया लिपिरियम्

On the right Margin:
श्रीकेनारामदेवशर्मणः
संमतमिदं निवेदनपत्रम् ।

LEGAL OPINION ENCLOSED WITH A PETITION
FROM AMBARAM SHASTRI AND
LAKSHMI BAYI

(OR 29 Nov. 1834)

दायादरहितस्यापि ब्राह्मणस्य धनं राजा कदाचिदपि न ग्राह्यमिति रा-
जकर्त्तव्यप्रकरणे मनुस्मृतौ मिताक्षरायामन्यत्र च स्पष्टमेव लिखित-
मिति । जीवतः पुत्रं पौत्रं शा रक्षित्वामृतेस्य वा वेदशास्त्रस्य राजा और-
सपुत्रवत् । तिपात्यस्य ब्राह्मणस्य धनं न कदाचिदपि ग्राह्यमितिवेदशा-
स्तः सिद्धमेवेति स्पष्टं । तथा हि मिताक्षरादौ मनुः । अहर्य ब्राह्मण-द्रव्यं
राजा नित्यमिति स्थितिरित्यादि¹ । श्रुतवृत्ते वि(विं)दित्वास्य वृत्तिं धर्म्यां प्रक-
ल्पयेत् संरक्षेत् सवतश्चैनं पिता पुत्रमिवौरसम् स रक्ष्यमाणे राजायां
कुरुते धर्ममन्वहृम् ॥ तेनायुर्वर्धते राजो द्रविणं राष्ट्रमेव च² । अगराजके
हि लोकेस्मिन् सर्वतो विद्रुते भयात् । रक्षार्थमस्य सर्वस्य राजानमस्तुज-
त् प्रभुः । इन्द्रानिलयमार्काणामग्नेश्च वरुणस्य च । चंद्रवित्तोशयोश्चैव
मात्रा निहृत्य शाश्वतीः । यस्मादेषा सुरेंद्राणा मात्राभ्यो निर्मितो नृपः ।
तस्मादभिभवत्येव सर्वभूतानि तेजसा । तपत्यादित्यवच्चैव चक्षुंषि
च मनांसि च । न चैनं भुवि शकोति कश्चिदप्यभिवीक्षितुम् । सोऽग्निर्भव-
ति वायुश्च सोर्कः सोमः स धर्मराट् । स कुवेरः स वरुणः स महेंद्रः प्रभा-
वतः³ । तपः परंकृतयुगे व्रेतायां ज्ञानमुच्यते द्वापरे यज्ञमेवाहुर्दानमे-
कं कलौ युगे⁴ । स्वदत्तात् द्विगुणं पुण्यं पर[र] ज्ञानुपालनात् । दानपालनयो
मर्घ्ये दानात् श्रेयोनुपालनं दानात् स्वर्गमवाप्नोति पालनादच्युतं प-
दम् । बालदायादिकं रिक्थं तावद्राज्ञानुपालयेत् । यावत्स स्यात् समावृ-
त्तो यावच्छातीतशैशव⁵ इति

LEGAL OPINION OF BENARES PANDITS
ON CHARKHARI SUCCESSION

(OR 29 Nov. 1835)

श्रीगमः

जगद्राजसिंहाभिधस्य¹ राज्ञससकाशाच्चत्वारः² पुत्रास्मेनापतिसिंह-³
पहाडः⁴ सिंहकेहरी⁵सिंहकीरतसिंहाभिधा वभूवुः एकस्य कीरतसिंह-⁶
स्य ज्येष्ठभार्यायामुत्पन्नात्मयः पुत्राः ज्येष्ठः षुमानसिंहो⁷ मध्यमः
पृथ्वीसिंहः कनिष्ठो धुन्धसिंह⁸स्तेषु मध्यमः “पृथ्वीसिंहो विभक्तो ज्ये-
ष्ठकनिष्ठौ षुमानसिंहधुन्धसिंहावविभक्तावभूताप् तत्र ज्येष्ठस्य वि-
जयवहादुरसिंहः⁹ पुत्रः कनिष्ठस्य लक्ष्मणसिंहः पुत्रः विजयवहा-
दुरसिंहस्य विवाहितायां त्रयः पुत्रा ईश्वरीसिंह-पूरणमल-गोविन्ददा-
साभिधा¹⁰ उत्पन्नास्तेचानपत्याः स्वजनकाम्रे मृताः ॥

अविवाहितस्त्रि-

यां दास्यामुत्पन्नो रणजितिसिंहः पारशावपुत्रः विजयवहादुरपितृव्य-
जन्मातृलक्ष्मणसिंहस्य खेदसिंहः¹¹ पुत्रः ॥ विजयवहादुरपारशावपुत्र-
रणजितसिंहस्य रतनसिंहः पुत्रः ॥ तत्र विजयवहादुरे मृते तत्पितृव्य-
जन्मातृपुत्रखेदसिंहतत्पारशावपुत्रपुत्ररतनसिंहयोः सतोः परम्परा-
गताविभक्तराज्ये कोधिकारीति प्रश्ने ॥ उत्तरम् ॥ अविवाहितस्त्रिया-
दासीत्वेन तस्यामुत्पन्नस्य रणजितिसिंहस्य तत्पुत्रस्य रतनसिंहस्य च
नाधिकारः । अत्रापष्टम्भकानि वचनानि “क्रयक्रीता तु या नारी न सा-
पत्री विधीयते ॥ न सा दैवे न सा पित्रे (ऋ) दासीं तां कवयो

विदु¹¹ “रिति अत्र

क्रयक्रीतेति सुरतार्थं द्रव्यादि दत्त्वा परिणयं विनावरुद्धा । ब्राह्मणाच्च-
त्रियविशां शूद्रापुत्रो न रिक्ष्यभागिति मनुः¹² ।” पूर्ववचने क्रयक्रीताया
दासीत्वाभिधानादपरिणीता सर्वापि शुद्रैव “शुद्र चां द्विजातिभिर्जातो
न भूमेर्भागमर्हतीति¹³ देवलेन परिणीतदास्यामप्युत्पन्नस्य भूमाव-
नधिकाराभिधानादपरिणीतोत्पन्नस्य सुतरामनधिकाराभिधाना-
च न राज्याधिकारो रतनसिंहस्य” किञ्च “जातो पि दास्यां शूद्रेण कामतो-

शहरो भवेदिति¹⁴ याज्यवत्क्यवच्ने शृद्रग्रहणाद्विजातिभिर्दास्यामुत्प-
न्नः पित्रिच्छयाप्यंशं न लभते कृत्स्नधनग्रहणन्तु दृगपास्तमिति वीर-
मित्रोदयमुद्राक्षरपुस्तके¹⁵ द्विनवत्यधिकशततम् १९२ पत्रान्ते स्फु-
टमभिधानाद्विवाहं प्रकस्य चतुम्बिद्वयेकभागाः स्युरित्यादिवच्नैः¹⁶
र्याज्ञवल्क्यादिभिर्भागवोधनादुद्वाहाभावेसजातीयायामप्युत्पन्नान्नां (नां)
पुत्राणां भागाभावस्य सूचनादेताहकपुत्रपौत्रयोः कैरपि ग्रन्थका-
रैर्भागालेखाच्च नाधिकारो रतनसिंहस्य जीवनमात्रे प्रवाधिकारः त-
था च मदनरनधृतवृहस्पतिवचनम्¹⁷ । “अनपत्यस्य शुश्रूपुर्गुणवान् शृ-
द्रयोनिजः लभेताजीवनं शेषं सपिण्डाः समवानुयुगिति” गौतमश्च¹⁸
शृद्रापुत्रोप्यनपत्यस्य शुश्रूपुश्चेलभते वृत्तिमूलमंतेवासिविधिनेति
आभ्यां वचनाभ्यां विभक्तस्यापि धनग्रहणे ऽपरिणीतदासीजस्यानधि-
कारेण सपिण्डस्यैवाधिकारेणाविभक्ते तु सर्वथा सपिण्डाधिका-
रो वोध्यते” किञ्च “स पारयन्तेव शवस्तस्मात् पारशवः स्मृत्” इति
मनु-¹⁹ना दास्यामुत्पादितस्य सुतस्य जीवच्छवतार्थकपारशवसञ्ज्ञाभि-
धानाद्यथाशवस्य नाधिकारो धने तथा शवकल्पस्य जीवतोपि दासी-
जस्य नाधिकार इति वोधनान्न रतनसिंहस्य राज्याधिकार किन्तु खे-
द सिंहस्यैवेति सकलधर्मशास्त्रनिवन्धसम्मतिः

सम्मतोऽयमर्थैश्वरदत्तशर्मपणिडतानाम् सम्मति प्राद्विवाक शाल-
ग्राम पणिडतस्य

सम्मतिरेतदर्थेऽष्टपुत्रोपा-
ह्वकाशीनाथ शास्त्रिणः
वदन्त्येनमर्थे नारा-
यणशास्त्रिणः

सम्मतिरत्रर्थे विद्वलशास्त्रिणाप्र-
सममान्ययमर्थसुकुलोपाहोमाराव-
शर्मपणिडतैः
अत्रार्थेसम्मतिश्चतुर्वेद-
हीरानन्दशर्म पणिडतस्य

RANA SHARDAR SINGH OF UDAIPUR TO
 PANDITARAJA SRI RANGANATHA
 OF NEPAL

(OR 1839 No Date)

श्रीरामो^१ विजयते

श्री ऐकलिं गजी^२

॥ स्वस्ति श्रीमत्सकलगुणगणालङ्कृतपणिडितराजश्रीरङ्गनाथ-^३
 ॥ गुरुवर्येषु श्रीमदुदयपत्तनतो महाराजाधिराजमहाराणश्रीश-
 ॥ रदारसिंहदेवानां^४ नतिपूर्वकं पत्रमिदं समुलसतु । शमन्त्रश्री-
 ॥ मत् - - - - कृपया श्रीमता तदेधमानमाशास्महे अपरच्च श्री-
 ॥ मतामाशीर्वादपत्रमागतं वृत्तान्तास्त्ववगताः श्रीमन्तोऽस्माकं
 ॥ शुभचिन्तकाः सन्ति ॥ अन्यच्च तत्रतो जमादारवंशराज जमादार-
 ॥ प्रीतमसिंह शुबाकृष्णनारायणमलाश्चोपायनं गृहित्वा ऽत्राग-
 ॥ तास्तन्महाराजाधिराज महाराणश्रीजवानसिंहनृपवर्याग्रे^५
 ॥ निवेदयित्वा स्थितं पश्चादितोप्याङ्गाजाता ते तत्राऽगत्यात्रत्यं
 ॥ वृत्तान्तं प्रकटीकरिष्यन्ति किमधिकमधिकज्ञेष्वलं पल्लविते (sic)
 ॥ संवत् १८९५ आशोजशुद्ध वृत्तीयार्या^७ कृतोऽयं लेखः
 (In another hand) कार्त्तिककृष्णद्वितीया^८

On the cover

पंडितराजश्रीरंगनाथगुरुवर्येष्विदम्पत्रम्

RANA SHARDAR SINGH OF UDAIPUR
 TO MAHARAJA RAJENDRA SRI
 VIKRAMA SHAH OF NEPAL
 (OR 1839 No Date)

॥ श्रीरामो विजयते

राम एकलिंग

॥ स्वस्ति श्रीश¹पदपङ्कजसेवनावाप्तसकलमनोरथानां सह-
 ॥ स्नांशुषंशाभंरणानां श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजमहाराणाश्री-
 ॥ शरदारसिंहनृपवर्ण्याणां ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीमत्पशुपतीश्वर²चर-
 ॥ णोपासनप्रसादलब्धातिविक्रमोपार्जितारिविजययशस्तोम-
 ॥ सोमोज्वलीकृताखिलहरिदन्तरालजनजेगीयमानसच्चरि-
 ॥ त्रोदयेषु मन्वान्युपदेशोपलब्धातिशयप्रकाशनयार्कप्रसारदूरी-
 ॥ कृतदुर्जनादितिमिरवटावृन्दानन्दितप्राज्यप्रजावर्गेषु ॥ महा-
 ॥ राजराजेन्द्रश्रीविक्रमसाहवर्मसु³ ॥ श्री - - स्मरणपूर्वकोदन्त-
 ॥ निवेदकोयं वर्णचरस्समुद्भस्तुतराम् शमत्र श्रीमत् - - - -
 ॥ कृपया श्रीभाजां तदेधमानमाशास्महे ॥ अपरच्च श्रीमत्प्रेषितज-
 ॥ मादारवंशराजजमादारप्रीतमसिंहशोवाकृष्णनारायणमल्ला-
 ॥ श्चोपायनं गृहि(ही)त्वा उत्रागतास्तन्महाराजाधिराजमहाराणाश्रीज-
 ॥ वानसिंह नृपवर्ण्याग्रे निवेदयित्वाउत्रस्थितम् पश्चात्तत्रागन्तु-
 ॥ माज्ञा दत्ता ते तत्रागत्याउत्रत्यं वृत्तान्तं प्रकटीकरिष्यन्ति श्रीमन्तो
 ॥ उस्मद्वंश्या⁴ सन्त्यतोउत्रत्यतत्रत्यव्यवहार एक एवावधारणीय-
 ॥ नितरां पत्र प्रेषणेनानन्दनीया वयम् ॥ अन्ये समाचारास्तु महेता⁵-
 ॥ रामसिंहपशुद्वगन्तव्याः किमधिकमधिकज्ञेष्वलं पल्लवितेन
 ॥ संवत् १८९५ कार्त्तिककृष्णद्वितीयायांकृतोयं लेखः—

VERSE BY JADUNATHA PANDITA

(OR 1842 No Date)

नवचन्द्रोदयप्रख्यञ्चागमोरितमोहरः भवतां सु-
 खदो भूयात्स्वीयानाङ्कान्तिवृद्धिभिः १ यदुना-
 थपरिडतस्याशीपद्यमेतत्

LEGAL OPINION ENCLOSED WITH A PETITION
FROM TAI SAHIBA AND BAYA SAHIBA

(OR 18 July 1853)

अथौरसपुत्रशब्दो विचार्यते ॥ औरसपुत्र इति विशिष्ट
समाख्याने विशेषणीभूत औरसशब्दस्तद्वितान्तः स्वज-
न्यमपत्यमात्रं ब्रूते ॥ पुत्रशब्दश्चापृत्यमात्रपर इति तु सा-
र्वजनीनम् ॥ प्रमाणानि चापि पुत्र [शब्दस्य] तथात्वे ॥ तत्र
कोशः¹ ॥ आत्मजस्तनयः सूनुः सुतः पुत्रःखियां त्वमी ॥
आहुर्द्विहितरं सर्व इति ॥ कोशार्थस्तु । अमी आत्मजादयः पु-
त्रांताः शब्दा अपत्यार्थवाचकाः ॥ अपत्यगतस्त्रीत्वरूपार्थ
विशेषविवक्षायां स्त्रीलिंगे भवति ॥ तदात्मजा तनयासू-
नुः पुत्रीति प्रयोक्तव्यं ॥ तदविवक्षायां त्वात्मज इति ॥ जन-
यद्वहुपुत्राणि मा च दुःखं लभेत्कच्चिदिति बहुचशास्याखि-
लम्² ॥ बहुपुत्राणि । बहुपत्यानि जनयंतीत्वमिति खिलार्थः
न चात्र कुीवापत्यविवक्षास्ति ॥ किंतूभयविधापत्यमेव विव-
क्षितम् ॥ तेनापत्यसामान्यार्थकः कुीवे प्रयुज्यते ॥ पुंविशे-
षविवक्षायां तु पुंसि पुत्र इति ॥ भवति च सामान्यार्थकानाप् कुी-
वे प्रयोगः ॥ अविशेषेण पुत्राणां दायो भवति धर्मतः ॥ मिथु-
नानां विसर्गादौ मनुः स्वायंभुवो ब्रवीदिति मनुः³ ॥ मिथुनानां
द्विविधानां पुंस्त्रीरूपाणां ॥ स्त्रीपुंसौ मिथुनं द्वन्द्वमिति को-
शात् । मन्वर्थविवरणं⁴ निरुक्तं वेदांगं च⁵ ॥ मिथुनाः पुत्रा दाया-
दा भवतीति । ननु च प्राकृतानामनार्याणां पुंस्यपत्ये एव पुत्र-
शब्दप्रयोगदर्शनात्पुत्रशब्दस्य विशेषार्थकत्वमेवेति चेत्
न ॥ पुत्रशब्दविषये आर्यानार्यव्यवहारस्यायुभयविधाप-
[त्ये] प्रयोगदर्शनमित्याश्वलायनगृहासूत्र⁷वृत्तिविरोधात् ।
वृत्तिग्रंथस्तु ॥ लोके दुहितरि पुत्रशब्दं प्रयुंजाना दृश्यते एहि
पुत्रेतीति ॥ नहत्र लोकोनामनार्यव्यवहाराहृते कश्चिदस्ति

तेन व्यवहारे पि पुत्रशब्दस्योभयविधापत्यार्थेक्त्वमेवेति सु-
स्थम् ॥ पुत्रशब्दः कन्यायां नास्तीति न श्रमितव्यमिति व्याक.⁸
रणकौमुदीव्याख्यायायां मनोरमायामपि⁹ स्पष्टमुक्तं पुत्रश-
ब्दस्य स्त्र्यपत्यार्थकतेति ॥ एवमनेकप्रमाणविचारितः पुत्रश-
ब्दः पुमपत्यं स्त्र्यपत्यमिति द्विविधार्थक इति निर्विवादम् तेन पुमा-
न्पुत्रस्त्रीपुत्रश्चेति द्वावौरसपुत्रपदवाच्याविति ॥

PETITION OF VISVANATH DIKSHIT
TO LORD DALHOUSIE

(OR 3 June 1854)

श्री

॥ श्रीमद्दैतसच्चिदानंदकूटस्थपरमात्मभजनावाप्त पृथ्वीशत्वानेकराजन्य-
शिरःकि- ॥

॥ रीटमणिनीराजितचरणकम्लसार्वभौमलाट साहेबाभिधगौरांड¹ मुख्यकिल-
किला²- ॥

॥ नगरस्थसंतप्रभुवर्यवर्यविषयेषु पाश्चात्यदेशांतर्गगौतञ्चलवरांधिपमहाराज-
रावरा- ॥

॥ जा⁴ (sic) विनयसिंह⁵नृपवरमुख्याश्रितपंडितविश्वनाथदीक्षित⁶अभिहोत्री-
विरचितानं- ॥

॥ तप्रार्थना विलसंतु अत्रत्यु शं क्षयाद्व⁷ज्येष्ठकृष्ण⁸चन्द्रवासरावधिकीकट⁹-
विषयांतःपातिगयायां साग्निहो- ॥

॥ त्रसच्छात्रसपरिवाराः स्थितिं कृतवंतः स्म सांप्रतं प्रभुसन्निधौ निवेदनीया-
शस्तु वयं तु यात्रार्थं श्रीमहा-

॥ राजतः आज्ञां समादाय अर्पलापुरमार्गेण¹⁰ प्रयागमागत्य तत्र कतिचिद्वि-
नान्युपित्वा ततः काशीं समा-

॥ गत्य तत्रापि वासं कृत्वा ततो गयागमनसमये मार्गे गयातः पंचक्रोशपरि-
मितपश्चिमदेशे राजामो- ॥

॥ दनागायणसिंहग्रामे¹¹ तत्रत्य आपणस्थहीरालालवणिजाहृतस्तद्वटे मौख्यं
नियम्य प्रतिदिनवत्भोज- ॥

॥ नादिव्यवहारं कृत्वा वासं विधाय रात्रौ स्वापसमये ग्रामस्य चौरा आगत्य
मदीयमुद्राभरणादीनि गृहीत्वा ॥

॥ गमनसमये अस्मदीयब्राह्मणस्तु जागृतः (sic) सन् चौरजानू धृतवान्
तदानीं चौरस्तु ब्राह्मणशिरसि श- ॥

॥ स्त्रं¹² हृत्योरसि लत्ताप्रहारं¹³ कृत्वा मूर्च्छितः ततः सर्वे उत्थिता मदीयाः
दीपानयन विषये यत्ने कृते तदा- ॥

॥ नीं तद्वीथिस्थाः सर्वे स्वस्वभवने वार्तालापं कुर्वति तथापि चौरा गच्छंति
गच्छन्तीत्युक्तेषि केचन नागताः
॥ [अ]थच कपाटोद्धाटनं कृत्वा दीपोपि न दत्तः अनंतरं हृष्टस्वामिन(नो) अपि
आहानं कृतं सोपि नागतः त-
॥ [तः**** आ]हानं कृतं सतु किंचिद्वकाशं कृत्वा आगत्य प्रकाशं
कृत्वा प्रेक्षणसमये मूर्च्छित्तब्राह्म- ॥
॥ [गण्य चेतना]दिकं विधाय पदार्थदर्शने कृते तत्रत्य स्वर्णमोक्तिकरजत-
रत्नस्वर्णरजतमुद्राव- ॥
॥ []सहस्रचतुष्टयपरिमितविषयं संगृहीत्वागताः तेन
प्रहरकेण वरकंदाज¹⁴पद- ॥
॥ [वाच्यं ? पंचानपुर¹⁵ ?]त [:] कथयित्वा आनीतं उभावपि आगत्य
तत्स्थलनिरीक्षणसमये अज्ञात्वा स्थितं ॥

[On the left margin]

पंचानपुराख्यं प्राप्य प [

]

[2nd Sheet Rec to]

॥ चौरस्य लोहमयं पदार्थ, चतुष्टयं मिलितं एकं शरूं द्वितीयं कर्तरिपद-
वाच्यं¹⁶ तृतीयं चिमटापदवाच्यं¹⁷ च- ॥
॥ तुर्थं कुंजीपदवाच्यं¹⁸ तत्र कुंजीपञ्चदश सर्वे दृष्ट्वा तदानीं ताम्या एते विषया-
गृहस्वामिन एवेत्युक्त्वा तत्का-
॥ ले यद्युहं निरुद्धं द्वितीयदिने क्रोशद्वयोपरिस्थितटकारि¹⁹नगरतः
जमादार²⁰पदवाच्यस्त्वागत्य इतस्ततो-
॥ वलोक्य द्वित्रिसकाशात् किंचिल्लेखनं कारयित्वा सर्वान् प्रति स्वस्वगृहं प्रति
गतंव्यमिति आज्ञा दत्ता ततो
॥ वयं पंचानपुरतः गया समागत्य मजिष्ठर²¹साहेबनिकटे विज्ञप्तिपत्रं दत्तं
तदृगृहीत्वा दृष्ट्वा च किमपि नोत्त- ॥
॥ रितं ततो दशपञ्चदिनानि तूष्णीं स्थित्वा पुन विज्ञप्तिपत्रं अस्मदभिप्रायकं
दत्तं दृष्ट्वा भवदभिरेव चौरा ॥

॥ अन्वेषणीयाः अस्माभिः किं कर्तव्यमिति आज्ञा दत्ता ततोपि इतस्ततः[ः] विशाहि(तिदि)नपर्यतमटनं कृत्वा किं- ॥

॥ चिद्गंधं प्राप्य पुनर्विज्ञप्तिपत्रं दत्तं यत्र अस्मत्संदेहस्तद्गृहशोधनं कार्यमिति अधिकारिभ्यो(भ्य) आज्ञा देये- ॥

॥ ति तदनुरूपतया आज्ञा दत्ता द्वितीयदिने अधिकारिसाकं एकस्य द्यूतसक्तस्य गृहं गत्वा अन्वेषण- ॥

॥ समये मदीयचौरापहृतवस्त्वन्तर्गतकंचुकं मिलितं तं द्यूतसक्तं च गृहीत्वा ठाणा²²पदवाच्यस्थाने ॥

॥ आगत्य तत्रत्य अधिकारिणा स पृष्ठे त्वद्गृहे कथमागत वस्त्वेतत् तदा तेन पंचानपुरग्रामे एते य-

॥ छट्टे वासं कृतवंतः तद्दृस्वामिनैव दत्तमिति लिखित्वा स साक्षिकं संतुष्टेन मनसा दत्तं तृती-

॥ यदिने मजिष्ठरसाहेबनिकटे आगतः स पृष्ठे परोपदिष्टः सः इतस्ततो वृत्तं अन्यदेव निवेद्य स्व- ॥

॥ कीयवृत्तिमाच्छाद्य अधिकारिभ्यो द्रव्यं दत्वा गृहं गंतव्यमिति प्रभवाज्ञा²³ लध्वा (लब्ध्वा) गतवाच्च तन्मिलि-

॥ तकंचुकमस्मभ्यं दत्तं एवमेव अप्रेषि अन्वेषणं कार्यमिति आज्ञा दत्ता वर्तते एवं च राजैव एता-

॥ दृशः सन् चौरपक्षपातं कृत्वा स्थित श्चेत्पांथानां प्रजानां च का गतिः किं च राज्ञः दुष्टनिप्रहम-

॥ तरा प्रजापालनं न संभवति तदुक्तं मिताज्ञरायां व्यवहाराध्याये ॥ व्यवहारान्वृपः पश्येदित्युक्त्वा²⁴

॥ श्रुताध्ययनसंपन्ना धर्मज्ञाः सत्यवादिनः ॥ राज्ञा सभासदः कार्या रिपौ मित्रे च ये समाः²⁴ रागाल्लो-

॥ भाद्रभयाद्वापि स्मृत्यपेतादिकारिणः सभ्याः पृथक्पृथक दंड्या विवादाद्- द्विगुणं दम²⁵ अतो अवश्यमे-

॥ व इमे पूर्वोक्तहेतुमत्त्वात् दंडार्हा एव अथच प्राहकै(कैर्) गृष्णते चौरो लोप्त्रेणाथ पदेन वा पूर्वकर्मा [प-]

(2nd Sheet Verso)

॥ राधी च तथा चाशुद्धवासक²⁶ इत्यादिग्रंथेन चौरान्वेषणं चौरदंडनं
तदपहृतद्रव्यदापनं साहसस्तेयपारु[स्यभि]-

॥ तिग्रंथेन²⁷ सद्य एव व्यवहारदर्शनं सभापतेरेव ननु अपहृतद्रव्यकस्य कुतः
माहशस्य पांथस्य एतद्ग्र[मे]]

॥ इमे चौरा इमे शिष्टा इति बोधाजननात् अत्रत्यएतावद्विचारलेखने तव
कोधिकारः वर्तते इति पृष्ठे

॥ मम अधिकारो नास्त्येव तथापि भूत्याकीर्तिः प्रभोरेव इति मत्वा अत्रत्या
ये शास्त्रविरुद्धं कुर्वति त-

॥ त्सर्वं प्रभुष्वेवारोपयंति तद्विषये श्रीमत्प्रभूरुणं दोषगंधोपि नास्ति केवलं
धर्मशास्त्रानुसारेणैव

॥ व्यवहारश्चालनीय इति सर्वेषामाज्ञा दत्ता एतद्विषये ममानुभव एव पूर्वं
राजानः इतरेण निधौ

॥ लब्धे तं भर्त्सद्विद्यि(यि)त्वा स्वयमेव गृहीतार आसन् अधुना तद्विषये
कटाक्षलेशोपि न अथच यस्य या-

॥ दृश दंडः कार्यः तेन कोष्ट्या(द्य)वधिमुद्रां दत्त्वा तादृशं दंडं परिहर्तुमशक्तः
एवं प्रभुनिकटे नीति [:] डिंडि-

॥ मायते अस्मदीयगतद्रव्यविषये दुर्दृष्टास्तुपुनर्दृष्टा(प्ला) व्यवहारान्नपेण
तु सभ्याः सजयिनो दंड्या

॥ विवादाद्वि (द्वाद्वि) गुणांदमम्²⁸ एतावद्रीत्या श्रीमत्प्रभुवयोः कृपां कृत्वा सर्वे
मनस्यानीय अत्रत्यसभापतिना-

॥ न्ना व्रातितेपहृते दोषो ग्रामभर्तु रवीतके विवीतभर्तु स्तु पथि चौरोद्धर्तु-
रवीतके²⁹ स्तेयप्रक-

॥ रणांतर्गतमिताक्षरास्मृत्यनुसारेण चौरान्वेषणपूर्वकं धनदापनं ग्रामभर्तुः
सकाशात्का-

॥ यं चौरस्याप्राप्तौ तु गतधनं दापितव्यमिति आज्ञापत्रं प्रेषद्विद्यि(यि)त्वा चौरा-
पहृतद्रव्यप्राप्तिर्यथा

॥ स्यात्तथाकर्तव्यतार्या प्रभव एव ॥ अभिज्ञप्रभुवर्येषु वहुलेखनेनालं ॥

भाषायां वस्तुनामानि

६१२ गोठ जोडी^{३०} २ तो ३६ १ १७^{३१}२०४ पाटली जोडा १ १२^{३२}६८ कंगणया जोडी २ तो ४^{३३}१०२ हसुली छोटी तो—६^{३४}२२१ सरी १ तो १३^{३५}६८ विंदलि जोडा तो ४^{३६}*1st Sheet, Verso*

[] हरी तो १

[] ३० तो २०

[] लका तो ३

[] अंगुठी ३

[हर का] अंगुठी ३

[इ] मानि रबखचितसुवर्णवस्तूनि

३०० मोहर जयपुरी २० द १ १५^{३७}७५ महाराज शाशार मोहर ५^{३८}१६ मोहर लखनी^{३९}५॥ पुतली ३^{४०}७० टिकली तो ५^{४१}१२॥ गोशृंग माला ४^{४२}०३४ केतक तो २^{४३}१७ राखडी १^{४४}१७ माथे का फूल १^{४५}२५॥ गाठलि तो १^{४६}२०२४^{४७} नथ मोती व हीरा

बाली १

१५० काप जोडी^{४८}१०४ मोती का दाणा विनावोय^{४९}२० नीळ १०^{५०}

फा० ८

(Col 2)

२० पुष्पराग ३०^{५१}
 २८ सातफुली मोटी^{५२}
 ५० भोकरा जोड़ी ३^{५३}
 २१६ चैकडा जोड़ी ३^{५४}
 २३ कटोरी २ तुकड़^{५५}
 ५ चमच्या ३^{५६}
 ६ पेला ३^{५७}

(Col 3)

५ पांहची ४^{५८}
 ५ कडा जोडा ४^{५९}
 ५० तोडा जौडा ५०^{६०}
 १४ बिछ्या जोडा ५^{६१}
 ७ मासोळा जोडा ३^{६२}
 ५० बाली भुमका जोडा^{६३}
 ५ पिल्ली जोड़ी ४^{६४}
 ३ फुलपावक १^{६५}
 ३२ घुंघुरु जोड़ी १^{६६}
 ८ तुकडा चांदि १^{६७}
 २४० नगद^{६८}

इमानि कंवलं रजतमयानि वस्त्रूनि

कंचुकत्रयं स्त्रियः

एका मंजुषा पित्तलमयी तन्मध्ये

आभर(ण)वंधनवस्त्राणि

मुद्राभरणवस्त्राणि

On the Cover

लिफापायाम् श्रीसार्वभौमलाटसाहेबकलकत्तामहा[राजधान्याम्]

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GURUDASPUR

(OR 17 Feb. 1855)

(१)

श्रीरस्तु

धर्मोन्नयति

देशादिभेदेनापि विभागमाहृ कल्पतरु-
त्वाकरयोः¹ कात्यायनः देशस्य जातेः
संवस्य धर्मो ग्रामस्य यो भूगुः उदितः
स्यात्स तेनैव दायभागं प्रकल्पयेत् भूगुरा-
हेतिशेषः श्रीरघुनाथनंदनभट्टाचा-
र्यविरचिते² व्यवहारज्ञत्वेस्फुटैपा व्यव-
स्था

(२)

अतएव व्यामो यथाह³ समानजातिसंख्या ये जातास्त्वेकेन सुनवः
विभिन्नमातृकास्तेषां मातृभागः प्रशस्यते बृहस्पतिरपि यद्येक-
जाता वहवः समानाजातिसंख्यया सापनास्तैविभक्तव्यं मातृ-
भागेन धर्मत इति अत्रजातिसंख्यासाम्ये सापनानामपि भाग-
विशेषः स्वरूपकृतो नास्तीति मातृभागत्वविधानं मातृप्राधान्यप-
रमेवेति नायं पुत्राणां विभागः किन्तु तन्मातृणामित्युद्दिश्य वि-
भागः कर्तव्य इत्यत्र नान्यत्र⁴ तात्पर्यम् तेनेतरमातृधन इवात्रापि मा-
तृजीवने पुत्राणान्न(णाप) रस्परम्भिभागो धर्म्यः यतो (अतो)
गौतमाद्युक्ताविभा-
गे धर्मवृद्धिरपि मात्रुपरमएव वेदितव्येति जीमूतवाहन⁵ आह-
तत् पितृधने मात्रभावापेक्षायां अद्वार्थवापतेः(त्वः)प्रागेव निरस्त[म्]
इति⁶ वीरमित्रोदय(ये) व्यासबृहस्पत(ति)गोतमवचनानी[ति] शुभम्

**SANSKRIT DOCUMENTS
(ENGLISH TRANSLATION)**

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE DOCUMENTS

DOCUMENT 1

The prosperous Viśveśvara of Kāśi is (more and more) victorious.

The prosperous Rāmachandra is victorious.

May the sun god protect (us). Prosperity.

Prosperity :—By one who is sonless a son of the same caste should be adopted according to the form prescribed by scriptures, even though he may have a brother's son (living), as enjoined by the (following) Vedic text on exclusion from heaven: “He who is without a son has no place in heaven.” According to the code of Atri, “Only by the sonless a substitute for a son should without fail be accepted from anyone (he may like) with a view to ensuring the offer of funeral cake and water (on his death).” “The learned selected (these) as substitutes of sons in order to safeguard the continuance of funeral oblations.” This is also, according to Manu. But since the expression ‘only by the sonless’ in the legal code of Atri suggests that he who has ‘already’ a son has no right (of adoption) and since, again, the following text of Manu, “If one among several brothers born of the same (mother) gets a son the rest are also declared by Manu as having become fathers through that son” implies that the person under discussion is to be considered father of a son by virtue of his having a brother's son, it may be questioned what right such a person has to adopt a son. (Our reply is that) he would certainly be without any right if the aforesaid text of Manu really establishes the (exact) identity (of the nephew) with a son. The case however is otherwise. For the author of the *Mitāksharā*, the *Hemādri*, the *Madanaratna*, as well as the authors of the *Vīramitrodaya* and the *Mayūkha* and other writers of juridical works have explained the passage as implying that the adoption of a brother's son is commendable

and that the latter is entitled to perform the obsequial oblation of his father's brother even as he performs his own father's. As regards the claim of a brother's son who has not been adopted as a son to the status of a son and to succession to the legacy of one who is without a son, such a claim is barred being in conflict with the order of succession contemplated by the ascetic Yājñavalkya, under which he has been allotted the fifth place, as will be found in the following text, "First wife, then daughters, then parents, then brothers and subsequent to that brother's sons." Further, the following text of Vṛiddha-parāśara "To one who is sonless his brother's son should behave as a son; it is he who shall perform the duties of offering funeral cakes and oblations," makes it obligatory on the part of a brother's son to perform the obsequial rite of his father's brothers in the same way as he does it in his father's case, but does not establish his claim to the status of a son (in other respects). As Parāśara himself in a subsequent passage has stated, "a brother's son should perform the *pārvapā-Śrāddha* even as a natural-born son; having put him in place of (his) father he should pronounce the (names of) the remaining two as before." Therefore, it is clear that since a brother's son cannot attain the status of a natural born son without being duly adopted, the person under discussion, on failure of male issues, is entitled to take an adopted son. The adoption, as a son, of a brother's son or other collaterals is valid provided there is an abnormal situation, there subsists mutual goodwill between the donor and the donee, the adoptee is not a first born nor is the donor the father of either one son or two sons. Unless these conditions are fulfilled such a course is invalid, as it is prohibited by all treatises including the *Mitāksharā*. On this point Manu as quoted in the *Mitāksharā* states as follows: "that (boy) equal (by caste) whom his mother or his father with affection gives (confirming the gift) with (a libation of) water, in times of distress (to a man) as his son, must be considered as an adopted son. The use of the expression "in times of distress" implies that no (son) can be given away unless there is distress. The use of the expression 'affection' is intended to prevent donation through fear, greed, etc. So the gifts should not take

place in the absence of mutual goodwill (between the parties) nor should an only son be given away since the *Vasishtha Smṛiti* enjoins that "none shall give or receive (in adoption) an only son." The *Śaunaka Smṛiti* also enjoins that "under no circumstances shall a person who has only one son give away that son (in adoption). Only a father having many sons is permitted to give away one of them with zeal." Nor shall a person who has only two sons make a (similar gift; for, as regards the question of acceptability of (such) gifts from fathers of two sons the above quoted *Śaunaka* text, containing as it does a prohibition in respect of fathers having one male issue, disallows also (such) gifts from a father of two sons by virtue of the meaning implied in the expression "only a father having many sons etc." *Sāntanu* in his speech to *Bhīshma* also says "a man with one son is no better than one who is sonless. One eye is as good as no eye, for if it is lost one becomes blind." Then again the eldest son should not be given away, even inspite of the presence of many sons, for, according to the following text he (the eldest) is fittest to perform the duties of a son:—"By the birth of the first born a man becomes the father of a male issue."

It is established therefore that when it is not possible to adopt a brother's son on the ground that none of the aforesaid conditions can be satisfied, it will be permissible to adopt any other person as a son. For *Śaunaka* says "Brāhmaṇas should procure a son from among their collaterals. Failing them they should adopt one who is not a collateral. But they should not seek a son among other (castes)." Moreover, the adopted son being the only one among all the non-body-born sons whose status has been recognised in the Kali age he alone is entitled not only to offer funeral cakes but also to inherit a share (in the paternal property).

The above opinion is endorsed by *Nandapandita*. *Dharmādhikārin*.

The above opinion is endorsed by *Bhairāma Bhaṭṭa* bearing the surname *Bhāradvāja*.

The above opinion is endorsed by Gaṅgārāma bearing the surname Josi.

The above opinion is endorsed by Beṇimādhava Pāṭhaka.

The above interpretation of law is endorsed by Kṛipānātha Deva.

The above interpretation is endorsed by Vireśvara having the surname Gavvara (Gahvara?)

Appāśāstrin endorses the above interpretaion.

The above interpretation is endorsed by Baijanātha Bhaṭṭa with the surname Dhobala.

The above interpretation is endorsed by Dīnānātha Deva.

The above interpretation is endorsed by Guṇeśvara Bhaṭṭa.

The above interpretation is endorsed by Bhavāniśaṅkara bearing the surname Thākura.

The above interpretation is endorsed by Kṛipākṛishṇa Yājñika.

The above interpretation is endorsed by Rājārāma bearing the surname Ardhamaṇa.

The above interpretation is endorsed by Raṅganātha Śāstrin.

The above interpretation is endorsed by Jagannātha Miśra.

The above interpretation is endorsed by Govinda bearing the surname Puṇyastambhakara.

The above interpretation is endorsed by Ātmārāmabhaṭṭa bearing the surname Paurāṇika.

The above interpretation is endorsed by Anantārāmabhaṭṭa bearing the surname Bhaṭṭa.

The above interpretation is endorsed by Brijanāthabhaṭṭa bearing the surname Bhaṭṭa.

The above interpretation is endorsed by Dādāmabhaṭṭa bearing the surname Bhaṭṭa.

The above decision is endorsed by Meghanātha Deva.

The above interpretation is endorsed by Śesha Harirāma.

By Govindarāma Pandita bearing the surname Śesha the above interpretation is endorsed.

The above decision is endorsed by Nīlakanṭha Sarman bearing the surname Bhaṭṭa.

Nānā Pāṭhaka endorses the above interpretation.

The above interpretation is endorsed by Bhāradvāja Sītarāma Bhaṭṭa.

The above interpretation is endorsed by Rāmachandra Paṇḍita bearing the surname Daśaputra.

The above interpretation is endorsed by Bhairava Dikshita, surnamed Tilaka.

The above interpretation is endorsed by Gaḍegila Bhīshma Bhaṭṭa.

The above interpretation is endorsed by Raṅganātha Dikshita.

The above interpretation is endorsed by Baijanatha Dikshita bearing the surname Drōṇa.

DOCUMENT 2

This memorandum is drawn up on (this day, being) Friday the sixth *tithi* in the bright fortnight in (the month of) Karttika, in the 1844th year of Vikrama (equivalent to) the Śaka year 1709. We, the inhabitants as well as outsiders settled at Vārāṇasi do (hereby) declare with truth and sincerity that we feel happy and satisfied on account of several (good) things originating from the generous and enlightened policy (administration) of the illustrious noble Mr. Hastings, the Governor-General. Among these things the first (to be mentioned) is the pain he took to populate as well as to promote the well-being of the city of *Visvesvara*, the most holy place for all the four castes belonging to the entire country.

Secondly, he has settled us under his jurisdiction with both honour and happiness.

Thirdly, frightened by the high-handedness of the *gaṅgāputras* few pilgrims previously used to visit this city. But now that those misdeeds have been suppressed and all other obstructions removed pilgrims are pouring in the city in large numbers from all provinces in view of the unprecedented facilities afforded for their religious rites.

Fourthly, he appointed as Magistrate Nawab 'Ali Ibrahim Khan, efficient, upright and well-versed in law, for the maintenance of law and order and administration of justice in the City of Vārāṇasi. In the proclamation of his appointment, an appointment justified by the resulting happiness and comfort that have accrued to the whole population of the locality, it was ordained that Brāhmaṇa scholars should be appointed for deciding the suits preferred by the four castes and Muslim divines for (deciding) those preferred by others. The said Magistrate having efficiently checked the exactions of bribes and (undue) fines by his subordinate officers has conferred on the people more happiness than enjoyed by them even under the rule of Raja Balavanta Simha and Cheta Simha.

Fifthly, on the occasion of an assemblage of the enlightened people of the locality which took place during the second visit of the illustrious governor Mr. Hastings, he charmed everybody by his elegant and delightful conversation, by his conduct characterised by unfathomable charity and by his deeds and thoughts which were solely devoted to rewarding and patronising the people according to their merits.

Sixthly, to our great delight, he caused a music gallery to be built at his own expense at the gateway of the illustrious *Viśvesvara* temple the crest-jewel of all the holy places.

Seventhly, he never deviated from the principles essential to good government nor cast a look of greed (towards anybody) nor did he ever wish any ill to anybody.

Thus do we truthfully testify to the wise and charitable policy followed by Mr. Hastings, *Jalādat Jang* (brave in war). The fame of the (English) King and the Company, pervading as it does all the quarters like autumn moonlight, is ever alive through the length and breadth of (their) far-flung and firmly established empire. And all of us, who are living in comfort, offer our prayers for the prosperity of the extensive and well-administered empire of the King and the Company, who are a veritable repository of never-failing kindness.

Signatories :—

Nilkanṭh Bhaṭ¹

Bireśwar Śesh²

Atmā Rām Kāle³

Bālam Bhaṭ Kāule⁴

¹ Nilakantha Bhaṭṭa. See NOTES, DOCUMENT 1. No. 30.

² Is he identical with "Bireswar Sheth, Professor of the large Vyakarana of Panini and the Bhasya of the Rigveda" referred to by Nicholl in his *History of Benares College*? (See also INTRODUCTION to DOCUMENT 8). In that case he must have been a Maharashtra Brahman for.

³ Kāle is obviously a Marathi surname.

⁴ Bālam Bhaṭṭa Kaule—Is he the famous Bālambhaṭṭa, author of *Vyavahāra Bālambhaṭṭi* (*Lakshmiyākhyānam*)? The latter is known to have flourished between 1730 and 1820 (See Kane

Bhairon (Bhairav) Dīchhit (Dikshit)⁵

Megh Nāth Dev⁶

Śambhū Dev Dev

Jairām Bhaṭ⁷

Jaganāth Bhaṭ Šukul

Baijnāth Bhaṭ Kavimandān⁸

Jaganāth Misr⁹

Gangā Rām Kārikal¹⁰

Rāmchandra Bhaṭ Koṭkar¹¹

Atmā Rām Purānik¹²

Bhaṭ Gangā Rām Jaṛi¹³

History of Dharmasastra, I, p. 462) and must have been living in Benares at this date. He was a pupil of Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa, and was in 1800 appointed by Colebrooke as his Pandit. One difficulty in accepting the identification is that Bālambhaṭṭa the jurist bore the surname Payagunda whereas his namesake of the present document is surnamed Kaule. He is certainly not to be identified with Bālambhaṭṭa Bhāradvāja whose name occurs among the signatories to the Sanskrit address presented by the Benares Pandits to Warren Hastings in 1797. (Gode, *Testimonials of good conduct to Warren Hastings by the Benares Pandits, Journal of the Tanjore S. M. Library, Vol II*, no 1 p.3). The name of latter will be found further down in the list (see Note 14 *infra*).

⁵ Bhairava Dīkshita? Perhaps identical with signatory No. 28 of DOCUMENT I.

⁶ Meghanāth Dev—identical with signatory no. 21 of DOCUMENT I.

⁷ Jayarāma Bhaṭṭa—To be identified probably with ‘Jayarama Bhatta Professor of Yajurveda’ the 35th signatory to the Sanskrit address presented by the Benares Pandits to Warren Hastings in 1796 (Gode, *Op. cit.* p. 2)

⁸ Is he the same as Vaijanātha Bhaṭṭa of DOCUMENT I?

⁹ Jagannātha Miṣra—His name occurs also among the signatories to DOCUMENT I.

¹⁰ Karikal is it a mistake for the surname Karlekar?

¹¹ Evidently the same as “Ramachandra Surnamed Kotakara” of the document referred to in Note 4 above. The surname Kotkar is still in use in the Deccan.

¹² Ātmārāma Paurāṇika—Probably identical with signatory No. 17 of DOCUMENT I.

¹³ Jaṛi—Evidently a copyist’s mistake for Jaḍe which is still in use as a surname in the Deccan.

Somnāth Bhaṭ Navitānkar (?)
 Bhūdev Misr
 Bhairon (Bhairav) Dichhit (Dikshit)
 Bālam Bhaṭ Bhāradwāj¹⁴
 Guneśwar Bhaṭ¹⁵
 Bābā Dichhit (Dikshit)
 Bālkishan Dichhit (Dikshit) Mahājan¹⁶
 Dādam Bhaṭ¹⁷
 Kishan Bhaṭ Ārari¹⁸
 Sakhā Rām Bhaṭ¹⁹
 Jogeśwar Bhaṭ
 Harikishan Dichhit (Dikshit)
 Bābū Dichhit (Dikshit) Ayāchak (?)²⁰
 Rāmkishan Tipāthī (Tripāthī)
 Udaya Śankar Pandit
 Annā Śāstri
 Shadāśiv Bhaṭ
 Bālmukund Bhaṭ Khole (?)²¹

¹⁴ Same as the 40th signatory to the Sanskrit address referred to in note 4 above.

¹⁵ Guṇeśvara Bhaṭṭa—Same as the signatory No. 10 of DOCUMENT I.

¹⁶ Mahājan is a well known Deccanese surname.

¹⁷ Dādam Bhaṭṭa—Same as “Dādām Bhaṭṭa surnamed Bhaṭṭa” of DOCUMENT I and the 5th signatory to the address referred to in Note 4 above.

¹⁸ There is one Kṛishṇa Bhaṭṭa among the signatories to the Sanskrit address referred to in Note 4 above, but it is difficult to say whether he is the same as Kṛishṇa Bhaṭṭa Arari of the present document.

¹⁹ Evidently the same as ‘Sakhārām Bhaṭṭa surnamed Laghatya’ of the address referred to in Note 4 above.

²⁰ The name of one ‘Bāpu Deeksheeta surnamed Drona’ occurs among the signatories to the Sanskrit address of 1797 referred to in Note 4 above. He is however surnamed Drona, whereas his namesake of the present document bears the surname Ayāchaka.

²¹ Bālamukunda Bhaṭṭa Khole—Probably identical with ‘Bala Mookoonda’ (44th signatory) of the Sanskrit address referred to in the preceding note. Khole may be a mistake for the surname Ghule.

Bālkishan Dīchhit (Dikshit)²²
 Sītā Rām Bhaṭ Purānik
 Pandit Nānā Pāṭhak²³
 Bālkishan Kārikal
 Mani Rām Bhaṭ Sadābrati²⁴
 Baijnāth Bhaṭ Nāgrāj
 Prem Śankar
 Anant Rām Bhaṭ Lachhmi Dhar
 Śambhūji Dīchhit (Dikshit)
 Udayakishan Tevāri
 Lachhmīdhar Dīchhit (Dikshit)
 Lachhman Vyās
 Ballabh Ji
 Śivdullabh(durlabh) Ji Gopāl Ji
 Jaikishan Pāṭhak
 Ānand Rām Anant Rām
 Mayānāth Pandā
 Sadākishan Jānī (?)
 Pandā Nand Rām
 Mukund Rām Śukul
 Kalyānji Dīchhit (Dikshit)
 Mūlnāth Rudarjī (Rudraji ?)
 Dube Keval Kishan
 Śiv Prān Jīvan
 Tevāri Bishan Dev²⁵
 Banvāri Kānh Dev
 Bāwan Kishan
 Dube Ganpat Ji

²² Bālakṛishṇa Dikshit—Probably identical with “Bala Krishna Deeksheeta,” surnamed “Ayacheeta” of the Sanskrit address referred to in the preceding note.

²³ Pandit Nānā Pāṭhak—See Notes, DOCUMENT I, no. 31.

²⁴ Probably Mani Rām Bhaṭṭa, who according to Ali Ibrahim Khan witnessed a trial by ordeal held in Benares under his administration. See his contribution on the subject of Trial by Ordeal (*Asiatic Researches*, I, p. 983).

²⁵ Tevari is equivalent to the modern surname Tewari (Trivedi). Bishan Dev is evidently a corruption of Vishṇu Deva.

Dube Bishnu Rām
 Sūraj Kishan
 Tevārī Kishan Ballabh
 Borā Gangā Rām
 Borā Bishnu Rām
 Pandiā Kalyānji
 Tevārī Motilāl
 Dube Kānh Ji
 Anand Rām Šukul
 Rām Datt
 Keval Kishan Dichhit (Dikshit)
 Dīnā Nāth²⁶
 Rām Kishan Bhaṭ Kholę (?)²⁷
 Anant Rām Bhaṭ²⁸
 Mahidhar Dharam Adhikāri²⁹
 Bālmukund Aṭari³⁰
 Hari Bhaṭ Dhoble
 Vāsudev Bhaṭ Gurjar³¹
 Šivrām Bhaṭ Ghosi (?)³²
 Jagannāth Dhāramadhikāri
 Anant Rām Bhaṭ Paṭwardhān
 Vināyak Bhaṭ Moni (Mauni ?)
 Kirpā Krishan Jākak (Yājñik)³³

²⁶ Perhaps identical with Dīnānāthadeva of DOCUMENT 1 (See Notes, p. 129, no. 17).

²⁷ Rāmakrishna Bhaṭṭa Ghule? He is probably to be identified with "Rāma Krishna surnamed Ghoola" of the Sanskrit address of 1797 referred to in Note 4 above.

²⁸ Probably to be identified with Anantarāma Bhaṭṭa of DOCUMENT 1 (Notes, p. 129, no. 25).

²⁹ Read Dhārmādhibārī. On the surname Dharmādhikārin see Notes, DOCUMENT 1, no. 14.

³⁰ May be identical with 'Bāla Mookoonda', signatory no. 44, to the Sanskrit address of 1797 referred to in Note 4 above.

³¹ Vāsudeva Bhaṭṭa Gurjara may be the same as 'Vasoo Deva Goorjaras' of the Sanskrit address of 1797 referred to above.

³² Sivarāma Bhaṭṭa Ghoshi is probably identical with 'Seeva Rama Ghose' of the Sanskrit address of 1797, referred to above.

³³ Kripā Krishna Yājñika—to be identified with 'Kripa Krishna Sarma Yajneeka' of the Sanskrit address of 1797 and Kripā Krishna Yāñjika of DOCUMENT 1,

Šiv Lāl Pāṭhak
 Lachhman Bhaṭ
 Babrūpājha (Babhrūpādhyāya) Sāstri
 Bhavāni Šāṅkar Thākura³⁴
 Jogeśwar Sāstri
 Meghā Pat Joshi
 Ganeś Bhaṭ Šārangpāni (Šārṅgapāni)
 Šivbhadra Pāṭhak³⁵
 Sūrajram Jāni
 Ārat Rām Dullabh (durlabh) Rām
 Gobind Rām Šiv Dat
 Beni Rām Borā
 Narsiji Moreśwar
 Mohan Lāl Murlidhar
 Dube Chranjīv Ichhāśaṅka
 Dev Karan Bakht Rām
 Gaurī Šāṅkar Wārāchand
 Nānhā Parameśwar
 Kamlā Kiran Achleśwar
 Dube Bināth (*sic*) Rām
 Rāmeshvar Bikran (Vikram?)
 Kāśi Rām Ratiśvar
 Rati Rām Šānmukhrām
 Vidyādhar Udaikiran
 Dube 'Izzat Rām Lajjā Rām
 Sudhāreśvar 'Izzat Rām
 Dayā Dhar Dīnā Nāth
 Dayānāth Bishnu
 Kothā (?) Sātvik (Sattvik) Krishn Dayāl³⁶
 Varādhar (Bratadhar) Mangleśvar
 Revā Dās
 Jatineśvar (Yatindreśvar ?)

³⁴ Bhāvanī Šāṅkara Thākura—identical with signatory No. 11 of DOCUMENT 1, and 45th signatory to the Sanskrit Address of 1797.

³⁵ Šivabhadra Pāṭhaka—Same as “Seeva Bhadra Pathaka” the 63rd. signatory to the Sanskrit address of 1797.

³⁶ Is Kothā a mistransliteration of Kotākar?

Ambā Šankar Bijai Sankar
 Lālādhar Rube (Rūp?) Rām
 Kāśirām
 Kāśī Rām Šiv Šankar
 Jāni Revā Dat Bihārī Lāl
 Sūraj Rām Mansā Rām
 Nānā Moghā
 Govind Rām Nirvankeśvar (Nirvaneśvar?)
 Iśvarjī Lakhojī
 Jānī Anand Rām Sārath Rām
 Jagat Rām 'Izzat Rām
 Mūkeśvar
 Rasik Lāl Brijlāl
 Dayānand Karnākiran
 Rām Dat Sarvankeśvar (?)
 Sanmukh Rām Uttam Rām
 Durgā Šankar Dayā Rām
 Bijai Rām Chāsan Rām
 Bālmukund Šankar Vallabh
 Chandreśvar
 Hirākiran Motī Kiran
 Bishunāth Chhā Gopī Nāth (Viśvanath Jha ?)
 Jatiśvar Lachhmi Iśvar
 Prem Šankar
 Mehta Gopāl Kishan
 Ambā Rām Vyās
 Krishnī Joshī
 Rām Chandra Vyās
 Banwārī Višeśwar
 Dūbe Sūraj Ji
 Tivārī Ratan Ji
 Tivārī Ambā Rām
 Ganpat Joshī
 Jadūpat Joshī
 Pandia Mahādev
 Bidyā (Vidyā) Dhar Vaid
 Rājā Rām Keval Rām

Dev Dat Bhaṭ
 Vidyā Nand Joshi
 Babreśvar (Bapreśvar ?)
 Miṭṭhā Rām Bhaṭ
 Ojhā Rām Kishan
 Tivāri Baijnāth
 Dūbe Chaturbhuj
 Dūbe Dev Rām
 Ojhā Rādhe Kishan
 Ambā Śankar Jālī
 Ānand Rām Vyās
 Mansā Rām
 Raghunāth Gopāl „
 Dichhit (Dīkshit) Gopālji
 Dichhit (Dīkshit) Hari Kishan
 Sūraj Dat Śukul
 Jīvan Rām Dūbe
 Krishan Dev Dichhīt (Dīkshit)³⁷
 Gopāl Dev
 Chitreśvar Bhaṭ
 Parbhū Dev Vyās „
 Śiv Śankar Dichhit (Dīkshit)
 Nārāin Dev
 Kirpā Sankar Dichhit (Dīkshit)
 Gokul Nāth Dichhit (Dīkshit)

³⁷ Kṛiṣṇa Deva Dīkshit is probably identical with “Kṛiṣṇa deeksheetā Deva Sarma” the 25th signatory to the Sanskrit address of 1796 referred to in Note 7 above.

DOCUMENT 3

This is the submission of people settled in Vārāṇasī as well as of pilgrims from various provinces to the prosperous King of Kings, the King of England and the prosperous Company. We are living here richly blessed by the favour and patronage of the illustrious Governor-General and chief among men, Hastings (1). Secondly, as long as the said ruler resided in this country, he endeavoured in many ways for the promotion of our well-being and for the maintenance of our honour (2). Again, people came from all quarters and settled here when they learnt of the great happiness of us, who reside here in security, thanks to that ruler's (Mr. Hastings') favour, and of the suppression of the evil-doers. (3). Further, having considered the propriety of appointing a magistrate who is intelligent, well-versed in all the sciences, god-fearing, devoid of greed and competent to adjust the cause between the followers of the Vedic religion according to the *Dharma-Śāstras* and between the Muslims in conformity with their laws, for the protection of the honest and the chastisement of the dishonest, the illustrious ruler, who is known by the name of Hastings, gave the appointment to the illustrious Nawab Ali Ibrahim Khan, who fulfilled all these requirements and was a veritable ocean of virtues, in consequence whereof, we are being governed much better than under the former Raja (4). Further when the said ruler came to this city, all who went to see him were received with respect according to their ranks. (5). Further, in order to obtain eternal prosperity in a fitting manner through the grace of the Supreme Lord, the said ruler provided for daily (play of) music in an elegantly fashioned stone edifice built for the purpose at a considerable expense near the gate of the Lord's temple (6). So long as he resided in this country he cherished us in every way like his children. In no respect did he cause us any loss. We are on that account ever living in happiness. By these (deeds) the prosperous King of Kings, the King of England,

the protector and sole refuge of the poor as well as the Company have gained great reputation. We are also daily offering our blessings. This is the submission of the inhabitants of the holy city.

Signatories :—

Kṛipārām Tarka-siddhānta
 Govindarām Nyāyapanchan(Pañchānan)
 Rāmarām Siddhānta
 Kāśirām Chāṭjia (Chāṭtopādhyāya)
 Prāṇ Kṛishṇa Śarmā
 Śyām Vidyāvāgiś
 Kṛishṇamangal Śarmā
 Kṛishṇa Chandra Sārvabhauma
 Yugal Kiśor N(V)andopādhyāya
 Kṛishṇa Chandra Mukhjiā (Mukhopādhyāya)
 Rāmlochan Mukhjiā (Mukhopādhyāya)
 Dulāl Nyāyālāñkār
 Balarām Vāchaspati
 Sadānanda Tarka Vāgiś
 Sivnāth Tarkabos (bhūshāṇ)
 Ānanda Chandra Bhaṭṭāchār,
 Rāmcharan Vidyāvāgiś
 Kāśināth Maithil
 Gaṅgārām Panchan(Pañchānan ?)
 Rām Prasād N(V)andyopādhyāya
 Rāmsundar Rāi
 Vagaleśvar Panchān(an ?)
 Kāliprasād Bhaṭṭāchārj(ya)
 Gaṅgādhar Vidyāvāgiś
 Krishṇānanda Vidyālāñkār
 Rāmcharan Chakravartī
 Haridev Tarkabaoś (bhūshāṇ)
 Rāmchandra Vidyālāñkār
 Rāmrām Bakshi
 Balarām Bhaṭṭācharj(ya)
 Rudrarām Sarkār

Bhavānicharan Sarkār
 Rāmśāṅkar N(V)andyopādhyāya
 Chandra Śaṅkar Vidyāvāgīś
 Śivaprasād Vāchaspati
 Kāliprasād Siddhānta
 Śivnārāyan N(V)andyopādhyāya
 Darpanārāyan Bhaṭṭāchārj(ya)
 Gokul Kishan Vidyālāṅkār
 Ramākānta Vidyālāṅkār
 Rāmnāth Śarmā
 Chandicharan Śarmā
 Lakshman Vidyāvāgīś
 Ramākānta Vidyālāṅkār
 Gangārām Panchān(an?)
 Lakshminārāyan Śarmā
 Kriśnānanda Sārvabhauma
 Khelārām Śarmā
 Trilok Chandra Gānguli
 Rāmrām Śarmā
 Rāmji(van?) Ganguli
 Kāliprasād Śarmā
 Jagmohan Mukhojiā (Mukhopādhyāya)
 Śobhānāth Śarmā
 Rāmdās Śarmā
 Kṛisiṇārām Sārvabhauma
 Jaykishan Śarmā
 Jayaśaṅkar Śarmā
 Parmānanda Gānguli
 Nayanānanda Śarmā
 Śambhūnāth N(V)andyopādhyāya
 Jayanarāyan Ghoshāl
 Bhavāniśankar Śarmā
 Gangāhari N(V)andyopādhyāya
 Rāmsantos Chaṭjiā (Chaṭṭopādhyāya)
 Viśvanāth Chaṭjiā (Chaṭṭopādhyāya)
 Rāmrām Siddhānta
 Jagannāth Rāi

Mānikchandra Śarmā
 Gangādhar Vidyāvāgiś
 Rāmmohan Bhaṭṭācharya
 Rāmbhadra Nyāyalāñkār
 Jaydev Śarmā
 Jagannāth Śarmā
 Kāśināth Śarmā
 Devnārāyan Śarmā
 Gopālśaṅkar Panchānan
 Lakṣmīnārāyan Nyāyavāgiś
 Kṛiṣṇadev Chatṭīja
 Yugalmohan Śarmā
 Biśannāth G(h)osh
 Raghunāt(h) Pālṭha (Pālit)
 Kālipraśād Sarkār
 Bhairavcharan Śil
 Santos Singh
 Rāmnārāyan Śil
 Rāmsundar Sāyin
 Rāmmohan Pālṭha (Pālit)
 Prānkṛishna Pālṭha (Pālit)
 Kṛiṣṇamohan Dās
 Rāmśankar Bose
 Rāmhari Dās
 Rāmnidhī Dās
 Haricharan Malik
 Brijkishor Ghosh
 Kāliprasād Śarmā
 Kāliśaṅkar Śarmā
 Kāliprasād Śarmā
 Kevalrām Bhaṭṭāchārya
 Prānnāth Thākur
 Rāmcharan Banojia (Vandyopādhyāya)
 Nilmaṇi Thākur
 Chaitan(ya) charan Thākur
 Harikishan Baid
 Bishṇuśaṅkar Dīcchit (Dīkshit)

Mannu Dīkshit
Rāmnāth Dīkshit
Viśvanāth Miśr(a)
Vaidyanāth Nārāyan Miśra
Aushān Miśra
Kālidās Siddhānta.

DOCUMENT 4.

Prosperous Hari

The Prosperous Lord of the world is victorious.

Be it well. May the good wishes of the illustrious Mahārājā-dhirāja Śrimanta Gosvāminī Śrī Mahārājñī shed lustre on the great Governor Lord Cornwallis, the sunlike splendour of whose terrible and firmly consolidated power is scorching the faces of his enemy's wives. Be it known that our heart, refreshed as it is by viewing your glory which is a veritable flower garden, and nourished as it is by the honey emitting from the many blessings showered (on you) by God, has become full with joy. For, the illustrious, even when they live at a distance, cause happiness to all hearts as they would have done had they been close by. However, even those who are allied in a temporal way are accustomed to correspond with each other. It is strange, therefore, that although we are solicitous for the well-being of the whole world and are bound (to you) by a spiritual tie of friendship, you who are a veritable tree of justice, which by its able protection sustains the whole mankind, do not now even care to address (*lit.* do not even half-address) any of those letters which, with your own seal impressed on them, used regularly to flow (to us). Just as the flower sends out the sweetness contained within its core, do you also ever gladden our heart by regularly sending us letters decorated with scripts expressing your welfare. Further particulars may kindly be learnt from Lālā Mayārāma's letter. What more?

May this letter be fixed on the hand of His Excellency Lord Cornwallis the Governor.

Seal:—Śrī Bālakṛishna is victorious.

This is the seal of
Mahārāṇī Bahujikā.

DOCUMENT 5.

Prosperity.

Hail ! May the multitudinous blessings of Kamhnaradāsa shed brilliant lustre on the five times blessed Sir John Shore, who is prosperous, is an ornament to the whole orb of the earth, is shining among the society of learned men, is the gladdener of the hearts of all people and who by the river of his established reputation has whitened all the limitless horizons; who is an embellishment to the society of the most distinguished scholars whom he has overcome by pleasant polite behaviour and in discourses on diverse sciences¹; who is generous to the extent of making excessive charities from his treasury abounding in gold and radiant with the brilliant gems of the diadems (wrested) from the heads of numerous mighty kings overpowered by his uncommon prowess, augmented (as it is) by the magnitude of his supremely profound wisdom; who is the abode of a host of virtues and is the upholder of religion; who is the receptacle of the glory derived from the destruction of the hosts of his numerous terrible enemies who suddenly waxed powerful by the valour of his more formidable cavalry, elephantry, chariots and infantry; whose gateways have been rendered auspicious by the golden (images of) elephants, horses and palanquins presented to him by the ministers and other officials who adorn the highest societies in the world.

Verases

Peace prevails here; O ocean of compassion, I pray night and day for the welfare of your Excellency (and even) while taking my ablution in the waters of the celestial stream. (1)

May all the gods well-worshipped (as they are by me) protect you who are an expert in the governance of people, who are the only refugee of the learned and who are a master of statesmanship. (2)

¹ This is no empty compliment. Sir John Shore succeeded Sir William Jones as the president of the Asiatic Society of Bengal on 22 May, 1794 and well might he be called a *vidvajjanagoshtyhalankāra*. (See *Memoir of the Life and Correspondence of John, Lord Teignmouth*, Vol. I). For his literary contributions to the Society see *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. II, 307-22, 283-7, Vol. IV, 331-350.

(Among) the succession of kings who have flourished from the time of King Vikramārka down to the present day, in no instance have we heard of such a matchless maxim of administration, (a maxim) synonymous with artless freedom from avarice, as is observed in your case, O lord of the earth, O master, the only source (lit. bulb) of the delight of the entire mankind ! (3)

Victory to Sir John Shore, the monarch whose unparalleled fame is (ever) expanding ; who is the wish-yielding vessel which satisfies all desires ; who is the lion to the elephant-herd that his enemies are ; around whose feet the crest-jewels of the (subject) chiefs are waved in adoration ; who is equal to the moon which delights the *chakora*-like eyes of the meritorious ; (4)

Who is the foremost among the leading victors ; who is a fire for (the cremation of) his formidable foes ; whose palms have the colour of the parrot's beak ; who is marked for a sublime destiny ; (and) by whom all suitors are satisfied and who is like a wreath on the heads of all the rulers of the earth. (5)

I beg now to submit my case personally to Your Excellency. This is as follows :—

The city called Gwalior is my home, Karīhnaradāsa my name, and twenty-six years my age. There dwells near (the temple of) Vṛiddhakāleśvara in Dārānagara in the Prosperous Vārāṇasi the illustrious Mānakumāri, the holy preceptress of Raja Cheta Simha's mother. At present I am lodging in her house. Three years did I pass in my own place, four in the town of Sihumḍā and nine in Vārāṇasi studying each day with great assiduity the religious texts. Lately my eyes have been affected by some malady, in consequence whereof I am unable to glance over the texts studied before or to make further studies. After (even) half an hour's writing and an hour's reading water starts streaming out of my eyes and severe pain is caused in the head. I got myself medically treated according to my means, but owing to indigence I cannot now continue (further) treatment. Hence, grave anxieties have arisen in me as to what will happen to me and who will sustain me. It is gathered from the sacred texts that it is the King who maintains the learned, the destitute and the distressed. Thus is written in the *Srimad-*

Bhāgavata : "The supreme duty of the king is to relieve the misery of the distressed." The recompense accruing to the observers of this duty has been (thus) described by Lord Kṛiṣṇa himself in the last part of the tenth section. Many like Hariśchandra, Rantideva, Uñchavṛitti (the gleaner), Śibi, Bali, the fowler and the pigeon attained the eternal state by (sacrificing) the ephemeral (body). Elucidation of the above is this : The paramount monarch, Hariśchandra, reached heaven with the entire population of Ayodhyā because, for the satisfaction of a suitor's need he sold away his wife and offspring and all his belongings, and remained unmoved even when reduced to the position of a chāṇḍāla's slave. King Rantideva attained to the Brahmaloka (Brahman's heaven) because he had given away to a beggar whatever food and drink he had with great exertions been able to find although he and his family had been without (even a drink of) water for forty-eight days. Mudgala, who lived on gleanings entered the Celestial World for having performed the rites of hospitality although his family had been living under great privation for six months (continuously). Śibi, King of the Uśinara country, departed to heaven for having given his own flesh to the hawk with a view to saving (the life of) a pigeon who had taken refuge under him. After having extended his conquest to the Celestial World, the paramount king, Bali, presented every thing he had to Hari masquerading as a Brāhmaṇa and (thereby) made that god his own. The cock-pigeon also went with his hen to heaven in a celestial car for having offered his own flesh to the hunter who was his guest. Many people likewise attained the world of the immortals by the sacrifice of the mortal body. But no more. Such rulers as are inclined to take pity on the poor and the helpless, are however very rare these days. The people of this place, the great and the learned as well as the poor and the distressed who have been rendered happy by you are ever reciting the fame of Your Excellency in every thoroughfare, at every door and in every house and even on the banks of the celestial river thus :— The paramount ruler, Sir John Shore, who is the God of Justice incarnate in the Company's abode, is munificent and an afforder of protection. Therefore, esteemed ruler, you ought to write to

some European (officer) in Vārāṇasi so that he may make provision for my food and raiment and arrange for the treatment of my eyes. If my eyes are cured I shall complete (my studies of) the sacred texts in five years and wherever I may go I shall continue to send my blessings to Your Excellency and sing your eulogies. If per chance, the ailments are not cured I shall spend all my life at Kāśī and ever meditate on Your Excellency's welfare. Although, O illustrious ruler, I do not happen to be acquainted with your Excellency in any way whatsoever, yet, being apprised of Your Excellency's generous disposition towards the indigent I am addressing this humble petition (with the hope) that you may show kindness (to me) in all manners. No more (need be said) to one who is almost omniscient.

Wide-spread indeed, O great ruler, is your fame. Who is the mortal² who can recount it in full?³

² The word 'udarambbari' is usually used to denote a 'gourmand.' But here it seems to have been used in its *yangika* sense, meaning 'that which fills its stomach (with food), i. e. 'an animal', 'a mortal'.'

³ Literally, 'write it out.'

DOCUMENT 6.

Prosperity.

Hail! May the abundant blessings of Kamīñaradāsa find excessive delight in the five times blessed Sir John Shore, the absolute sovereign, who is prosperous and is an ornament to the whole of terrestrial globe; who has destroyed a multitude of hostile chiefs in course of his worthily achieved world-conquest; who is the very image of the sun who has caused to bloom the lotus in the shape of the assembly of scholars; whose moonlike fame, (the eulogy of) which is chanted by the worthy people captivated by the very high reputation secured by the observance of excellent rules of conduct, has illuminated by its rays the three worlds.

verses.

One who has lighted up the faces of the horizons with his sun-like prowess which is manifested by (his) having robbed the young wives of the enemy kings of the vermillion mark (on their forehead); (he) who is auspicious in all his limbs who is the crest-jewel of all the good kings, who is the abode of virtue, generosity, conscientiousness and fortitude; (1)

Who is excellent because of the reputation which his measureless qualities have established; who entertains crowds of living beings by his daily distribution (of charities); by whom the world has been bathed in the lustre of his very bright fame which is like a lotus; who has surpassed (even) Veñu by his proficiency in statecraft and who is resplendent because of the music played on flutes¹ (in his honour); May he be ever victorious. (2)

My submission is that a humble petition was sent by me to the presence of the illustrious one on the 8th day² of the bright fortnight of Kārttika. (1)

¹ The meaning is not at all happy. The other alternative would be to follow the author of the *Vaijayanti* and to take the word 'Veñu' to mean the 'Vedas.' In that case the expression should be rendered as 'resplendent because of the chanting of the Vedas', hardly an improvement.

² 7th November, 1796.

Having looked into it the illustrious and merciful protector of the people despatched a note to Vārāṇasi with the object of providing an allowance for me (*lit.* ordering the grant of an allowance to me). (2)

All the pandits of Vārāṇasi who were in charge of the College were apprised of the allowance (sanctioned) for me. (3)

Thereafter, on Thursday the 7th day³ of the bright half of the month of Pausha you arrived to adorn the city of Vārāṇasi. (4)

On that occasion, a great longing arose in me for greeting you with my blessings. But as you were in a hurry to proceed westward.⁴ (5)

It was decided by me that I should pay a visit to you on your return, which did not, however, materialise. (6)

I am, therefore, my Lord, again addressing a letter testifying to (my) humility, to which you ought to listen. (7)

When I came to Vārāṇasi from Gwalior I had some money with me for defraying my expenses, by reason whereof, I could continue my studies. When that money was exhausted I earned my livelihood by reciting the holy *Bhāgavata*. But ever since my eyes were afflicted I am not being able to do anything whatsoever. Even an hour's reading causes water to stream out and also causes pain in the head. The professors of the locality as well as the residents of the city are all well aware of this (fact). Engaged as I have been in offering benedictions to Your Excellency since the date when you, O illustrious monarch, were pleased to improve my affairs, I feel that it has been very proper indeed that Your Excellency provided for my advancement through the

³ 5th January 1797. The date is evidently wrong. Shore did not reach Benares till the evening of the 5th February, which corresponds to Sunday, the 8th day of the bright half of the month of Magha. (Shore to Speke, dated Benares 7th February—Pol. Cons, 20th February 1797, No. 68.)

⁴ Shore left Benares for Lucknow on the 10th February (Shore to Speke, dated Jaunpore, 12th February 1797.—Pol. Cons. 20th February 1797, No. 69.)

agency of a succession of your servants. It is written in the Holy *Bhāgavata* that the King possesses all the funds necessary for the relief of the destitute. Therefore, do I pray of you, O great ruler, who is the universal sovereign and is the veritable image of the god of justice (established) in the Company's abode, that you may by (your) blessed lips issue in my behalf, instructions to the local officers for (the grant of) a little (as allowance), by becoming a regular recipient of which I may pass my days in great enjoyment at Vārāṇasī, having (regular) baths in the celestial river and offering auspicious benedictions to Your Excellency. No more (need be said) to one who is almost omniscient.

DOCUMENT 7.

Hail ! May the multitudinous blessings of Kam̄hnaradāsa shine brilliantly on the five times blessed members of the (Supreme) Council, who are prosperous, and are the ornament (as it were) to the whole of the terrestrial globe ; the river of whose widely-circulated fame has whitened the limitless horizons and who are an adornment to the assembly of the most distinguished scholars whom they have overcome by pleasant and polite courtesies as well as in discourses on diverse sciences. I beg to submit my case, which is as follows:—

The city of Gwalior is my home, and Kam̄hnaradāsa my name. I am now residing in Dārānagar in the Holy Vārāṇasi. I had been passing (my time) studying, night and day, the sacred texts with great assiduity but subsequently a misfortune befell me, in consequence of which great anxieties were caused. Thereupon, I came to the conclusion that an account of my distress, should be submitted to the ruler of the people. My misery and the texts justifying its representation being committed to writing were submitted to Mr. Shore, the esteemed ruler at his capital named Calcutta. Some provision was ordered for me by that Paramount ruler on his having heard of the matter, in consequence of which my welfare was secured. The ruler of the principality named Bundelkhand has since become favourably disposed towards me. Some presents have been sent by him for the illustrious Mr. Shore, from his own territories. That is lying with me. It is now heard that he (Mr. Shore) has left for his native land. Therefore, has this humble petition been addressed to the members of the Council who rightly constitute the supreme authority for deciding all doubtful points. I shall carry out whatever they may be pleased to direct. I shall forward it to them, if so they desire ; otherwise I shall hand it over to some European gentleman at Vārāṇasi. My well-being was due to the sympathy of the emperor, illustrious Mr. Shore. I also pray for his prosperity day and night. Now let me do what the Hon'ble gentlemen direct. No more (need be said) to those who are almost omniscient.

DOCUMENT 8.

Your subjects ever secure under the shade of your arms sleep without fear; your enemies who wander in terror in all directions find no sleep at all. You have restored with justice on earth the long dislocated four footed bull (of Dharma). What more should I say! You surpass all monarchs of sacred memory, O Lord Mornington.

Your enemies who, spared in the battlefield by your clemency, have with routed troops fled across the seas, resigning their interest in the states, strongholds and treasures, still get bewildered daily in the morning when they see the orb of the burning-rayed one (*i. e.*, the sun) in the east confounding it with your own orb, O Lord Mornington.

DOCUMENT 9

May the Illustrious LORD, the Sovereign of the Universe, be our refuge.

May the sincerest felicitations of the entire population of this city of the Supreme one, wealthy, pious and noble, of the whole sect of the Vaishṇavas, of countless Brāhmaṇas headed by the Royal preceptor and lastly, of all the attendants of the Deity, like Kṛishṇa Chandra Mahāpātra the Chief of the thirty-six holy offices, shed brilliant lustre on the exalted (personage) Governor-General, Marquess of Wellesley, known by the following titles, “one - with- everlasting - fame” (*lit. may - his - glory - continue*) “the ruler universally accepted,” “chief among all nobles” and “wielding lofty titles”; who is devoted to (the task of) bearing the burden of the earth which testifies to the (unique) virtue of worshipping his illustrious patron deity; who is the repository of a host of virtues which are being sung by numerous women, who have been turned into his chattels, in consequence of his having extinguished the splendour of the orb that his enemies are, included in the globe of the earth, itself held in fee by the exhibition of his majesty derived from the prowess of his own arms; to whom the entire world is devoted on account of the repeated recounting of his noble fame; who is the unrivalled sun that has caused to bloom the lotus that the English race is; and who has besides taken the vow of protecting the gods, the Brāhmaṇas and the Vaishṇavas.

Supported as we are by the solicitous attention of the English power, our predominance has been established in the holy temple of our Divine Master Jagannātha partly through the grace of the Supreme Lord, the illustrious Sovereign of the Universe and partly through the desire of the esteemed ruler. It is on this account that security and comfort have come to us according to our luck. Therefore, we, the people of the holy city are ever engaged in pronouncing our benediction and we wish to send our felicitations to your lordship. Further, we cherish but this desire

that your authority over this holy city may continue in this way for ever. Previously, while pondering on your Lordship's reputation, we became convinced of (the inevitability of) your control over the holy temple from reports, discussion, the sacred texts and the trends (of current events). We are now beholding with our own eyes exactly what we foresaw. In no instance did we witness nor shall we ever discern such prowess as we saw when your forces were preparing for war and again at the time of the defeat and the expulsion of the enemies. During this period the entire population was protected by you in such a manner that not a single soul suffered even the slightest loss, and we who were employed in attending on our Lord were not even aware that a war was raging in the land. While in the previous regime we had to meet with obstruction even in the smallest matter, we enjoy happiness now in every respect under your government. Sincerely do we hope that your lordship will establish justice in the same way as it was done (of yore) by Brahmā and other gods and that having heard of the security in which our lives and properties are, thanks to the care of the British authority, people from other places like Vṛindāvana, Vārāṇasī, Rāmanātha and Dvārakā will all come to this city and having viewed the Deity will ascend to Vaikunṭha. And we here are praying night and day to God that the supremacy of the English power may last forever, that the Lord by placing your lordship under his lasting protection may promote your steady advancement and that, we your well-wishers, being rid of all fear (worries) under your rule may ever remain engaged in the service of the Sovereign of the Universe:—

Verses.

Such is the virtue of this city of the Supreme Being that here indulgence (of the senses) brings the same reward as asceticism, taking of meals in disregard of (caste) rules serve only to clean the stains of birth and the dust of a slave girl's feet is capable of purifying even the gods. (1)

The journey (of life) has been rendered difficult by the Vedas and the Dharma-Śāstras. In vain, oh wise men, have you pursued (your path). Of what use is this labour? On this sea-coast, beneath

the banyan tree, is available the nectar of absolute truth for any one to drink in with his eyes. (2)

(Here) The purifying food even if dropped from a dog's mouth should be eaten by Brahmā and other gods if by luck they find it. (3)

The light which flashes like lightning in the firmament of the soul of the ascetic, shines on the Blue Rock in the form of wood. (4)

Glory to the Lord of the Universe, in partaking of the leavings of whose food the bars of proximity do not operate between the (various castes) beginning with the Brāhmaṇas and ending with the dog-eaters. (5)

Where there is prosperity there is no learning; where both co-exist liberality is wanting ; If three of them happen to occur in one place in consequence of numerous meritorious deeds (done), courtesy does not manifest itself; and where the last-named is found piety is sure to be absent. But it is in you alone, that all these shine together through the grace of God. (6)

DOCUMENT 10.

This is the world-renouned coin of Yaśovanta whose heart is as the black bee (fixed) on the lotus foot of Lakshmi's lover. The King who resides in Indraprastha is the Emperor of the world. This coin which has been struck through his favour is circulating throughout the world.

In S. E. 1728.

DOCUMENT 11.

Salute to the Goddess of the perfect.

(Five) Nāgara Brāhmaṇas who maintained a joint establishment together with their uterine sister were engaged partly in government service and partly also in private business. Of them some had issues while others were issueless. Then in course of time all of them died the survivors being one brother and his wife, son of one of the (deceased) brothers and his wife, and the grandsons of the (deceased) sister. Then after sometime the son of the brother (aforesaid) went to the other world. Thereafter within a few days the (surviving) brother also died after making a stipulation to the effect that all the acts of piety or ceremonies performed by him should be performed in like manner (by his people) the cost being met from the income of the property granted to him by the king with a view to ensuring the enjoyment (of the property), (not only) for a thousand years, (but) for eternity. Among the survivors were his wife, the wife of his brother's son and his sister's grandsons. They continued to live jointly, sharing meal and other (domestic) amenities and fulfilling faithfully the conditions imposed by him at the time of his death. Now regarding the entire property including both moveables and immoveables and consisting of the property acquired by the five brothers jointly, as well as that bestowed on one of them by the king by means of a deed of conveyance which stipulated that the entire property including both moveables and immoveables should be enjoyed by the donee even as ancestral property and that all who were his legal heirs should also enjoy it in unbroken continuity for all times, and regarding also the question of fulfilling the stipulation made by the donee, have all the survivors equal claims to inherit the property and to fulfil the covenant or should any one of them (inherit) in the absence of one of the parties concerned, or does the entire property go to the king even though all of them may be living? This is the question which is put before the learned men of Vārāṇasi on the third day of the

dark half of the month of Jyaishṭha in the year indicated by the digit, the sage, wealth and earth.

The reply of the learned men of Vārāṇasī. From a study of the precepts of the great sages like Manu, Vishṇu, Nārada, Bṛihaspati, Yājñavalkya quoted in the *Mitāksharā*, the *Viramitrodaya* the *Vyavahāra-Mādhavīya* and other digests it is clear that the entire property inclusive of both moveables and immoveables and consisting of his ancestors' earnings, and his own earnings as well as the gifts bestowed on one of the five brothers by means of the aforesaid deed of conveyance will devolve first on his wife, failing her on his brother's daughter-in-law and failing her on his sister's grandsons. The right to fulfil the conditions imposed by him should also be settled according to the above principle. For, the fulfilment of the conditions being exclusively dependent on the legacy it is the inheritor of the legacy who should logically fulfil them. While they are alive the king has no right, for it is known that his right accrues only when heirs of all kinds fail. As regards the property belonging to (a Brahmin) however he has no right whatsoever, the king being debarred from taking property of that description. Much less has he any right to the property of Nāgara (Brāhmaṇas) described above. In the case of the members of the Nāgara caste, although they may have no heirs, the king has no right owing to the obligation to protect their property. Moreover, the king should not violate a covenant made by him, (the deceased). On the contrary he should ensure its fulfilment. For, according to a text of Nārada quoted by the *Vyavahāra-Mādhavīya* the king should guarantee contracts.

The texts referred to are quoted below:—

“The wife, daughters, parents, brothers, brother's sons, collaterals, kinsmen, pupils, fellow-students, among these the succeeding inherit the property of a man dying without male issue, only in the absence of the preceding ones, such is the law for all castes”—this is the precept of Yājñavalkya as quoted in the *Mitāksharā*.

“The wealth of a man who dies without a male issue goes to his wife; failing her to his daughter, failing her to his father, failing him to his mother, failing her to his brother, failing him to his brother's sons, failing them to *sakulyas* (descendants in the 4th to

9th degree); failing them to fellow-students, failing them to the king excepting in the case of the property being a Brāhmaṇa's.' This is what is enjoined by Vishṇu (17, 4, 8). The word 'kinsman' here stands for *sapinda*, *sagotra* and *sakulya*. This is the interpretation found in the *Viramitrodaya*. The *Śrīmatī* which is a gloss on the aforesaid (work) gives the following comment: "Kinsmen stand for *sapindas* the latter again may be subdivided into *sagotras* and *non-sagotras*." The following text of Bṛihaspati is found in the *Viramitrodaya* :—"In the Vedic literature, in the Smṛiti texts and in popular usage as well as by the learned the wife is regarded as one half of (a man's) body and as having equal share in the fruits of (his) good and evil deeds. Of the man whose wife is not dead, one half continues to exist, and while one half of his body is alive how can any one take (his property)? Hence in the case of a man dying without a male issue even though his father, mother, uterine brothers and *sakulyas* may be living, it is his wife who inherits his property." "Of the Kshatriyas, the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras who are sonless and have neither wives nor brothers, the property is taken by the king." The above text of Bṛihaspati denying as it does the king's title to the property of a Kshatriya and others whose wife may be living, suggests *a fortiori* the absence of his title when the question pertains to a Brāhmaṇa whose wife survives him. Here the expression 'who has neither wife nor brother' indicates the failure of all (the different kinds of legal heirs) including the fellow-students. This is the explanation found in the *Viramitrodaya*. The following texts of Manu are quoted in the *Viramitrodaya*—"On the failure of all (heirs) the king shall take (the estate)" and "the property of the Brāhmaṇa must never be taken by the king." The same work also quotes the following text of Nārada, "The king who has regard for law (shall take the property) from a man other than a Brāhmaṇa". The following text of Yājñavalkya is also quoted in the *Mitāksharā*—"Whatever be the customs, laws and family usages that may be prevailing in a country, that country when brought under subjugation should be ruled strictly in accordance with them." These very texts will also be found in

Vyavabāra-Mādbhavīya. Dated the 7th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Jyaishṭha in the year indicated by the digit, the sage, wealth and the earth.

The above interpretation is approved by Prabhākara Śarman having the surname Bhaṭṭa. Approval is accorded by Śrī Prāṇā-nāthāchārya to the above interpretation. This is approved by Sadāśiva Śarman bearing the surname Ghule. This interpretation is approved by Kṛishṇa Śarman bearing the surname Śesha. Tātyā Śarman Gaṇaka approves the above interpretation.

DOCUMENT 12.

Prosperity.

As regards the question, in case a rāja, not of the caste of twice-born, effects a partition with his eldest son begotten on one (of his wives) and then gets a son by another (woman lawfully) married to him and belonging to the same caste, what division of property should take place, on his demise, between the separated son and the one born after the separation, the decision of the Śāstras is that the son born after the partition will take the entire property owned by his father in his own right whether equal or unequal in value to the eldest son's share and that the eldest will retain the portion obtained by previous division whether (that is) equal or unequal in value (to that of the younger).

On this point, Manu (says,) "a son born after partition is alone entitled to the property of the father, or in case any (of the other sons) have reunited with him he shall share with them." Bṛihaspati also (says,) "when step-brothers born of different mothers or uterine brothers have come to a partition with their father those born subsequently shall take their father's share. The son born before partition has no claim to the father's property nor has the son born after partition a claim to the separated brother's property. Any property that the father may acquire subsequent to the partition with the sons will lawfully be the property of the sons who may be born after the partition. Those born before it can have no claim to it. This is the rule." Yājñavalkya (says,) "For the sons who have received any division of property whether large or small, what has been arranged by the father should be regarded as lawful." Nārada (says,) "For persons who have been allotted shares, whether equal or unequal, by their father, that (father's arrangement) should be regarded as valid. Father has control of everything." Bṛihaspati says, "Those whose shares have been settled by the father whether in equal or in unequal

lots should abide by that (division). Otherwise, they become deserving of punishment."

If there be any doubt as to the division, that which is deserving of investigation should be enquired into. Should it however be undecided the procedure is that the property is to be again divided. On this point Yājñavalkya says, "In case of a doubt arising regarding the fact of the distribution, the real nature of the distribution should be ascertained with the help of collaterals, relations, as well as witnesses and written documents, taking into consideration each house, each piece of landed property rightfully belonging to the parties. In case of a doubt arising regarding the principle of distribution, the settlement of the distribution should be made with the help of relatives, witnesses and documents but no ordeal is to be resorted to." Nārada says, "In cases of doubts regarding the principle of distribution, the settlement of inheritance etc. (should be done) by means of (an indication of the parties running) separate establishment, with the help of collaterals and documents relating to the allotment." We have it on the authority of Manu that "in case a doubt arises between the coparceners regarding distribution, it is necessary to make a fresh distribution notwithstanding that they live separately."

If it shall appear desirable to make a fresh division of property, both (sons) shall make a division of all the effects in equal portions whether inanimate or animate, moveable or immovable, either adjusting the shares according to their mothers or per capita. This is the procedure. On this point Yājñavalkya says that "after the death of both father and mother the sons shall divide in equal shares their (parents') assets as well as liabilities." Nārada says, "Therefore shall sons divide the property of their father equally between them." Manu says "After the death of the father and the mother the sons shall assemble and divide amongst themselves in equal portions the ancestral property. They have no right (of property) as long as they are alive." Here inspite of the use of the word 'and' the simultaneous death (of both the parents) is not intended. Thus (we have) in the *Madanaratna-smṛiti-saṃgraha*, "The property of

the father may be divided even during the life-time of the mother, she having no independent power over the property in the absence of her husband." Bṛihaspati says, "When there are many sons sprung from the same father equal in caste and number, (but born of different mothers), an equitable division may be effected by adjusting the shares according to their mothers conformably to law. When however they are of the same caste but differ in number it is the per capita division which is valid." Vyāsa says, "For those who are born of one (person), are equal in caste and number, but have, different mothers, the division according to mothers is to be advocated."

Although the (allotment of) the preferential share at the time of partition after father's death is prohibited (always) in the case of the Śūdras and in the case of those who are equally proficient in their work, and in the case of step brothers of the same caste in the Kaliyuga, the intention is that the king should make a special case of the eldest and make the other two (brothers) recipients of equal shares. On this point the *Tattvasūkti* says "A Śūdra can have a wife of his own caste only and no other. Sons born of her, even though they number a hundred, shall be entitled to equal shares. Of the sons who are born to the twice-born and belong to the same caste the eldest shall be given a preferential share and the rest should take equal shares. There is to be no preferential share 'out of ten' if all the brothers are efficient in their occupation. Some little thing however shall be allowed the eldest as a mark of distinction." According to the *Vyavahāramoyūkha* this preferential share is prohibited in the Kali age because of the text "excluding the Kali age." See also the text of Bṛihaspati quoted above which runs, "If there are many sons from the same father etc." Also the above cited texts of Yājñavalkya, Nārada and Manu which enjoin that "sons should make a partition after the death of the father etc." Manu has "That the substitute is equal to the principal is not valid according to law. The father is the principal in procreation and therefore one must give a share, conformably to law." Among the above cited texts that of *Tattvasūkti* which begins with "Some little should be given" is also authoritative. 'Alternati-

vely, partition according to the custom established locally among a caste or in a family is good law.' As Kātyāyana says "He shall settle partition of estates according to the customs which are prevalent in a tribe in a guild or in a village—Bhrigu." (Here) the implication is 'so says Bhrigu.' "Established usages whether localised in a territory or obtaining among a caste or a clan as well as village usages are (to be regarded) as valid and should be accepted provided they are not in conflict with the existing body of laws". This is the view of *Madanapārijāta*. Vaśishṭha says that "Law is that which is enjoined by Śruti and Smṛiti. Failing that the practice of wise men is authoritative." Manu says, "That land, created by the gods, which lies between the two divine rivers Sarasvatī and Dṛishadvatī (the sages) call Brahmapūrva. The plain of the Kurus, the (country of) the Matsyas, Pañchālas, and Śūrasenakas, these (form) indeed the country of the Brahmarshis (which ranks) immediately after Brahmapūrva. From the eldest brothers born in this country all men on earth shall learn their several courses of conduct." The gist of all the texts quoted above is therefore that the judge should make a slight distinction in the case of the eldest and after that treat him as equal with the younger.

Nor can it be urged that this interpretation of law is invalid in the present case, it being corroborated only by texts bearing on the general law of inheritance. For, we do not find any texts dealing with extraordinary rules specially applicable to each (class of people) of varying character and profession like the king, executive officials, ministers, priests, physicians and learned men.

Nor there need be any apprehension that royal estates are indivisible on the ground that there are no texts bearing on its divisibility. On the contrary, it is clear from the scriptures that the division of (such) estates has been resorted to in all ages. Here is (a text) on this contrary view. "Hear now, o virtuous king, about the family of Priyavrata who after having obtained the spiritual enlightenment from Nārada and having enjoyed the earth for some time and thereafter dividing it among his sons went to the divine abode." In the *Bhāgavata*—The sons of Āgnidhra who had by their mother's grace been fully developed in stature and

strength even at their birth, came, in consequence of a partition by their father to possess the (different) divisions of Jambudvīpa bearing their respective names, each receiving his allotted share. Similarly in the *Mārkandeyapurāṇam* (we have) “ Thereupon, O Brahman, did the royal sage Nīpa impart to the noble souled Bhananda instruction in the entire science of war. When he had mastered the art of war he demanded of his cousins Vasurāta and other sons of the noble Dīshṭya the half share of his ancestral kingdom to which he was (legally) entitled.” In the *Rāmāyaṇa* again, “ Having installed the heroic Kuśa in Kosala and Lava in the Northern region, Rāma bestowed on each of the noble-souled (princes) gifts consisting of 3,000 chariots, 10,000 elephants, and 10,000 horses. Endowed with abundance of jewels and provisions and attended by an army of sturdy and cheerful men the brothers Kuśa and Lava were sent to their respective cities.” These again are the words of Vidura to Dhṛitarāshtra in the 3rd canto (of the *Bhāgavata*) :—“ Restore the ancestral estate to Ajātaśatru, who has put up with your offences, and with whom there is the angrily hissing terrible snake in the form of Bṛikodara and his younger brothers of whom you are much afraid.” Again in the 9th canto we have, “ Nābhāga was a son of Nabhaga, to which poet, after he had returned back, his brothers restored his inheritance although he was the youngest and had been a brahmachārin.”

“ Pāṇḍu was a noble-souled king with world-wide renown. He was the sovereign and these his sons are entitled to the inheritance left by him. Do not continue the conflict my son, give away one half of the kingdom.” “ Whither Bhīshma goes Drona will follow. Therefore should you carry out what Bhīshma as said. Give then the one half of the kingdom to Pāṇḍu’s sons, o slayer of enemies.” “ How can you appropriate this kingdom, thou obstinate one, inherited by your opponents according to (rules of) succession. Having freed yourself from false vanity give away one half of the kingdom with robes of honour and riding animals.” “ Having returned to the sons of Pāṇḍu their rightful shares, O Bull of the Bharata’s race and having (thus) allayed the distress of your friends rule your own rightful kingdom.” “ Do not, O son, treat with contempt the prosperity which

is eagerly embracing (you). By bestowing the half (of the kingdom) upon sons of Prithā you will attain great renown." These are the words addressed to Duryodhana by Bhishma, Droṇa, Dhṛitarāshtra, Gāndhārī and Śrīkṛishna respectively in the Udyogaparvan. The following again are the words addressed by Arjuna to Śrīkṛishna in the same work. "That one half of the kingdom would be ours according to the final settlement arrived at previously has been circulated to all the kings. If he restores this to us voluntarily showing us (due) respect and offering us no insult I shall be happy, O great-armed one, and they will get rid of a great hazard."

"Mahānanda's heroic son, Your Majesty, born of a śūdrā woman will be Mahāpadma Nanda, the destroyer of the kshatriyas. He will have eight sons of whom the eldest will be Sumālyā and all of whom will enjoy the earth as kings for a period of hundred years." This text occurs in the twelfth canto (of the Bhāgavata).

(The matter is) to be settled with (the help of) texts establishing the fact of division of inheritance by father or by brother in respect of royal estates from the end of the Kṛita age down to the Kali age.

No need of further amplification.

Pāṇdita Thākuradāsa, Rāmaprasāda Bhattachārja(ya), Nikā Miśra, Rāmakṛishṇa.

DOCUMENT 13.

Goddess of Fortune is Victorious

This sunshade, made of beautiful pearl-like letters and conveying a very good sense, befits the king who is (himself) the bearer of shades (on many). Here then is the umbrella-shaped stanza formed by interchange of initial (letters) and displaying infinite complexity of construction :—

“O protector of the earth, O Lord of the treasury and harbours, may goddess Kālīkā, who is of pure lustre, who illumines the divine progenitors and whose splendour influences gods such as Śiva, Brahman, and Vāyu, bestow on you peace and prosperity along with renown.

DOCUMENT 14.

Salute to Ganeśa. A woman whose son had died and her issueless co-wife took steps immediately on the death of their husband and the (aforesaid) son to divide between themselves all the estates and treasures including moveables and immovableables belonging to the deceased husband and son, and lived separately. Supposing (now) that one of them dies will the surviving co-wife be entitled to the inheritance being next in kin to her?

The decision of the law books (on the question) is that as the entire property left by an issueless wife who had been married according to the Brāhma or any other of the five modes of marriage goes to her husband, and failing him to those proximate to him and as among the latter, in the absence of sons etc., the wife is most proximate (to the husband) it is the co-wife who by virtue of her being the principal ought to inherit the property.

Thus says Manu, as quoted by Aparārka, "Whatever belongs to a woman (who has been married) according to the Brāhma, Daiva, Ārsha, Gāndharva or Prājāpatya form of marriage, shall belong, in the event of her dying issueless, to her husband only." Again in Yājñavalkya (we have), "So far as the four (approved) forms of marriage including the Brāhma are concerned, the property of a issueless wife shall devolve on her husband. If she has left daughters (the property) should go to them. In the other forms of marriage it goes to the parents (of the deceased)." The meaning of the passage according to the *Viveka* is (as follows). When a wife who has performed her nuptials according to the Brāhma, Daiva, Ārsha or Prājāpatya mode dies, her property is inherited by her husband. In his absence those who are closely related to the husband's family get it. In their absence those who are closely related to her father's family obtain it. In the case of one who has obtained the wife's status through any one of the remaining modes of the wife's status marriage, that is to say, according the Āsura, Gāndharva, Rākshasa or Paśācha form of marriage, her property is inherited by the mother and the father. "First comes the mother. Failing

her comes the father, failing him the relatives connected through the father's family and failing them those who are closely related to the husband's family should obtain it." This is the view of the *Madanapārijata*. The *Mitāksharā* (contains the following note):—"If the aforesaid women having attained the status of a wife according to the four forms of marriage namely, Brāhma, Daiva, Ārsha, and Prājāpatya should die issueless the property aforesaid goes to her husband, in the first instance. In his absence it goes to those closely related to him. In the event of the marriage having been performed according to other forms of marriage, viz., Āsura, Gāndharva, Rākshasa and Paiśācha the property of the issueless woman goes to her parents. **पितृगामि** (in the text) means 'that which reaches **पितरौ**' which is a compound word formed of **पिता** and **माता**. But as has already been pointed out (elsewhere), in spite of the rule of *ekāśeṣa* (under which only one of the compounded words is retained) it is the mother who should obtain the property in the first instance. In her absence it should devolve on the father and in his absence on those closely related to him. Whatever be the form of marriage if the woman has been a *prasūtā*, that is to say, has issue, the property should belong to her daughters. Here the term 'daughters' indicates 'daughter's daughters'. As regards daughters they become entitled to the property in accordance with the text."

As regards the very close proximity of the co-wife to the husband (the following texts may be cited):—

"Wife, daughter, parents, brothers, brother's sons, *sagotras*, kinsmen, pupils, fellow-students; among these the succeeding inherits the property of a man dying without male issue, only in the absence of the preceding one. Such is the law for all castes", *Yājñavalkya*. "In the revealed texts (of the Vedas), in the traditional law (of the Smṛitis) and in popular usage, the wife is declared by the learned to be half the body (of her husband), equally sharing the outcome of good and evil acts. Of him whose wife is not dead, half of his body survives. How could any one else take the property while half his body lives?"—*Bṛihaspati*. "The wealth of a man who dies without issue goes to his wife; failing her to her daughter; failing her to his father, failing him to his mother

failing her to his brother, failing him to his brother's son, failing them to his kinsmen, failing them to the *sakulyas*, failing them to fellow-students, failing them to the king excepting in the case of the property being a Brāhmaṇa's." The above text of Vishṇu also supports (our contention). No need of further amplification. Be there prosperity and peace.

DOCUMENT 15.

O prosperous and brave master Macnaghten,² of exalted glory, O moon to the council of His Excellency the Governor-General illumined by your excellent qualities, great power and fair fame, O moon among the assembly of ministers, O cherisher of the poor, blessings to you. A strange phenomenon indeed has lately been experienced in this world. Iron when brought into contact with touchstone ceases to be apprehended (as iron). (It) becomes transformed into gold and gold (only) by virtue of its contact with the latter. (But) after an elephant has been actually observed, the observer need no longer take the trouble of inferring it from its trumpeting. That which can be apprehended through perception is not a matter for inference. Therefore, while waiting here I remain in grave doubt, O (my) master, who are a veritable touchstone, or is that maxim according to which one trying to avoid one failure involves himself in another, applicable here? Having therefore decided that I should personally return to my native place I would beg to submit before you that nobody is to blame. The very root 'dush' seems to have undergone the 'guna' operation to increase my 'dosha' (faults). For, nobody should be made accountable for either one's happiness or one's sorrow. But let this be my standing prayer to you, who are proficient in all the sciences, that you should hold without delay another examination and arrange to provide me with employment. As for others, they are awaiting your orders. You are therefore the sole authority to decide.

Samvat 1890, Sri Nekārāma Sharman earnestly prays that peace should prevail everywhere. Such is the auspicious resolution (made) on the 8th Bhādra II, Saturday.

DOCUMENT 16.

The Supreme Lord is ever Triumphant.

To prosperous and ever fortunate master William Hay Macnaghten endowed with great fame, proficient in the sciences without number, foremost among the accomplished, virtuous and most-respectable.

This is the humble petition of Sri Kenārāma Devaśarman. Having studied all the sciences beginning with grammar and ending with jurisprudence I was enabled for quite a long time to support those who were absolutely dependent on me through the generosity of the late Mr. John Ryecroft Best by working as a Pandit under him. Thereupon luckily for us he retired to the other world. Being without support I appeared at an examination before the Chief of the celebrated Examination Committee as well as the assemblage of god-like examiners, and also secured a diploma bearing the signature of your illustrious self. But so far no benefit has accrued to me who continue to be helpless. Now therefore I solicit your help only ; for, if through the patronage of your illustrious self I succeed in securing a government employment that will surely lead to the enhancement of your reputation. This is what can be stated with brevity.

Verse

Purchase (this my) life which is my only wealth. Nothing else have I got but you have your (many) meritorious acts. O lord of my life, O munificent one if you acquire the reputation of being charitable towards us, I shall also be able to continue singing it. Of Sri Kenārāma Devaśarman.

DOCUMENT 17.

Goddesses of Learning and Prosperity are ever Victorious.

To ever prosperous and fortunate Mr. William Hay Macnaghten, our patron, who is best among the most glorious, is a veritable repository of excellent qualities, is the chastiser of the wicked and pacifier of the good. This is the humble petition of Śri Kenārāma Devaśarman, pandit of the late John Ryecroft Best. On the 20th day of this month I sent a petition to your excellent self together with a diploma. I solicit now a kind reply to that as well as the (return of) that diploma so that I may succeed in my object.

This letter is dated 27th of Āśvina. The petition is from Kenārāma Devaśarman.

DOCUMENT 18.

That the property of a Brāhmaṇa even if he is without an heir should never be an escheat to the king is clearly stated in the section dealing with kingly duties in Manu's code, in the *Mitāksharā* as well as in other (legal treatises). It is clear that the Vedic Scriptures also prescribe that the property of a Brāhmaṇa learned in the Vedas, because he is to be cherished even as a natural born son by the king, cannot be escheated under any circumstances, whether he may be living or may have died leaving behind him sons or grandsons. On this point the following texts of Manu has been cited in the *Mitāksharā* and other works. "The property of a Brāhmaṇa must never be taken by the king, that is a settled rule etc." "Having ascertained his learning in the Vedas and the purity of his conduct the king shall provide for him means of subsistence in accordance with the sacred law, and shall protect him in every way as a father (protects) the lawful son of his body. Whatever meritorious acts (such a Brāhmaṇa) performs under the full protection of the king, thereby the king's length of life, wealth and kingdom increase." "For when these creatures, being without a king, through fear dispersed in all directions, the Lord created a king for the protection of this whole (creation); taking (for that purpose) eternal particles of Indra, of the Wind, of Yama, of the Sun, of Fire, of Varuṇa, of the Moon, and of the Lord of Wealth (Kubera). Because a king has been formed of particles of those of the gods, he therefore surpasses all created beings in lustre; and like the sun, he warms eyes and minds nor can anybody on earth ever gaze on him. Through his supernatural power he is Fire and Wind, he is Sun and Moon, he the Lord of Justice (Yama), he Kubera, he Varuṇa, he great Indra". "Penance is declared the highest (virtue) in the Satyayuga, (acquisition of) knowledge in the Tretāyuga, (performance of) sacrifices in the Dvāparayuga and charity alone in the Kaliyuga." "One derives twice as great merit by protecting and cherishing others as from the charities bestowed by him. Of munificence and protection

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certainly the latter is more commendable than the former. One secures only heaven by (practising) munificence, but one obtains the state of imperishable existence by (affording) protection (to others)." "The king shall protect the inherited (and other) property of a minor, until he has returned (from his teacher's house) or until he has passed his minority."

DOCUMENT 19.

Four sons were born to a certain chief named Jagadrājasimha viz., Senāpatisimha, Pahādasimha, Keharasisimha, Kirātasimha. Of them the one named Kiratasimha begot on his first wife three sons, the eldest of whom was called Shumāna Simha, the second Prithvisimha, and the youngest Dhundhasimha. Of them the second, Prithvisimha separated (from the family) while the eldest and the youngest viz. Shumānasimha and Dhundhasimha continued to live jointly. Thereafter the eldest had a son named Vijayabahādura and the youngest had one named Lakshmaṇasimha. Vijayabahādura had by his married wife three sons of the name of Iṣvarasimha, Puraṇamala, and Govindadāsa. They however died childless even while their father was alive. The latter had by a Śūdra concubine a bastard called Raṇajitsimha. Khedasimha is the issue of Lakshmaṇasimha, Vijayabahādura's paternal uncle's son and Ratanasimha is the son of Vijayabahādura's illegitimate issue, Raṇajitsimha. Now that Vijayabahādura is dead, the question at issue is which of the two survivors, viz. the deceased's paternal uncle's son, Khedasimha and his bastard's son Ratanasimha, will succeed to the Chiefship handed down in regular succession in an undivided state. The answer (is as below). Since the unmarried consort had the status of a slave, Raṇajitsimha begotten on her as well as Ratanasimha, Raṇajitsimha's son has no claims whatsoever. The texts in support of this conclusion are as follows :

“The woman acquired by purchase shall not be raised to the status of a wife. Neither shall she be permitted to offer oblation to gods or ancestors. She is termed a slave by the sages.” Here the term “acquired by purchase” means acquired by gifts, not by wedlock, for the purpose of cohabitation. The son begotten on a Śūdra woman by the Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya or Vaiśya is not entitled to inheritance, so says Manu. From the terming of a woman acquired by purchase as a ‘slave’ in the above text (it is clear that) all unmarried (consorts) are to be taken as Śūdra. “One begotten on a Śūdra woman by a person of the twice born caste

has no claims to a share in (ancestral) estates." The above text of Devala, which by asserting the incapacity of those begotten on a wedded slave to succeed to (ancestral estates) renders the claims of a son born out of wedlock doubly invalid, makes it quite clear that Ratanasimha has no right to the Chiefship. Yājñavalkya of course lays down that one though begotten on a concubine by a Śūdra is entitled to a portion in the patrimony if (so) desired (by the father). (But here) if we follow the explicit statement in the printed edition of the *Viramitrodaya* (p. 192) the specific mention of the word 'Śūdra' implies that those begotten by the twice-born on concubines are, inspite of what their fathers may have wished to the contrary, not entitled even to a fraction of the property, let alone the whole of it.

Yājñavalkya and others having advised partition by rules which enjoin that shares should be four parts, three, two or one according to the order of the marriages (contracted by the deceased), and the implication (of the rules) being that in the absence of marriage sons born of women of the same caste (as father's) are entitled to no share, and none of our authors having said expressly in (favor of) a share for the sons and grandsons of this description, Ratanasimha has right only to maintenance and to nothing else. Thus runs the text of Bṛihaspati as cited in the *Madanaratna*: "The son born of one who is (otherwise) childless by a Śūdra wife, if obedient, shall receive maintenance and the rest (of his property shall go to collaterals (*sapindas*)". Gautama also has it that the son begotten on a Śudra woman by one who is (otherwise) childless, if dutiful, shall receive a maintenance on the analogy of a pupil. These two texts by establishing the invalidity of the claims of the issue of an unmarried concubine to the property of a person separated from the family and the validity of the claims of the collaterals, only makes it clear that the right of succession to an undivided state belongs only to collaterals. Moreover, the son born of a concubine being given the term *pārasava*, which means a living corpse, according to the following text of Manu—"He (the son of a Brāhmaṇa by a Śūdra) is as a corpse even though living and he is called *pārasava* (the live corpse)", just as the corpse has no title to property, the illegitimate son who is almost a corpse has no right what-

soever even though he may be living. This being the clear implication (of the text) Ratanāsimha has no valid claims to the Chiefship. (The right of) succession therefore belongs to Khedasimha. This is the opinion supported by all legal codes.

This interpretation is approved by Iśvaradattaśarmapañdita

Approval (is accorded) to this interpretation by Kāśināthaśāstri surnamed Ashṭaputra

Nārāyaṇa Śāstrin endorses this interpretation. Approval (is accorded) by Prādīvīkā Śālagrāma Paṇḍita

Approval (is accorded) to this interpretation by Viṭhṭhalāśāstrin

This interpretation is approved by Umārāvaśarmapañdita surnamed Sukula.

To this interpretation (is accorded) the approval of Chaturveda Hiranandaśarmapañdita.

By Śrīkṛishṇa Charaṇa Śarman approval (is accorded) to this interpretation.

DOCUMENT 20.

(Divine Rāma is Victorious
Divine Ekalīṅga Ji)

Hail. May this letter commencing with the salutation of Mahārājadhīrāja Mahārāṇā His Majesty Śardāra Siṁha Deva from the prosperous Udayapattana find delight in the best of preceptors His Holiness Rāṅganātha, the prince among pañditas endowed with the assemblage of all the virtues. Peace (reigns) here through the grace of the Divine (Lord). We wish the same to (accrue to) Your Holiness in ever increasing degree. Further the letter conveying Your Holiness's benediction arrived here and the news were learnt. Your Holiness is our well-wisher. Further, Jamādāra Vāṁśarāja, Jamādāra Pṛitama Siṁha, Subākṛishṇa and Nārāyaṇamalla came here with presents from there and having delivered (them) to the best of rulers (Mahārājdhīrāja Mahārāṇā His Majesty Javāna Siṁha stayed here (for some time). Thereafter a commission was given hence that they should after arriving there communicate the news of this place. What else to one who is better informed. No need of (further) amplification.

This letter is written on (this day) the 3rd. day of bright fortnight of the month of Āśvina, Samvat 1895.

(*In another hand*) On the 2nd day of the dark fortnight of Kārttika.

On the cover

To the prince among the pañditas, Chief Preceptor Sri Rāṅganātha this letter (is addressed).

DOCUMENT 21.

Divine Rāma is Victorious Rāma Ekalimga

Hail. Of the best among princes the Mahārājādhirāja Mahā-rāṇā His Majesty Śardāra Siṁha, (who is) the ornament of the house of the thousand-rayed (deity) and who by his devotion to the lotus-feet of the Lord of Śrī (Śrīnātha) has attained all his desires. Prosperity to Mahārāja Rājendra Śrī Vikrama Śāhavarman, the rise of whose fair fame is being constantly chanted by the people of all the quarters illumined by the moon in the form of his multitudinous glories derived from the victory over his enemies achieved by the excessive valour which he has gained by virtue of his worship of the feet of the divine Paśupatiśvara, and who by the radiation of the rays emanating from the Sun in the form of very brilliant statecraft learnt by him from the teachings of Manu and others has dispelled many assemblages of darkness in the form of wicked people and has (thereby) delighted his numerous subjects.

May exceeding delight accrue to this news-bearing epistle which begins with the name of the blessed (Lord). Peace (prevails) here through the grace of the Divine Lord. The abundance of the same we wish to (you) who are entitled to prosperity. Further, Jamādāra Vamśarāja, Jamādāra Prītama Siṁha, Śobakṛishṇa and Nārāyanamalla who were deputed by you reached this place with presents. Having delivered (them) to the best among rulers Mahārājādhirāja Javāna Siṁha they stayed here (for some time). Thereafter they were given permission to depart for your place. Arriving there they will make known the news hereof. Your Majesty is of our family. Therefore the customs of this and your place are to be considered as identical. You should always delight us by sending letters. The rest of the news should be learnt from the letter of Mahetā Rāma Siṁha. What more to one who knows all. No need of further amplification. The letter is written on this day the 2nd day of the dark fortnight in the month of Kārttika, Samvat 1895.

DOCUMENT 22

(The Goddess of Prosperity is victorious.)

May your arrival which is like the fresh appearance of the moon and which dispels the darkness in the shape of the enemies (bring) delight to us by the increase of (your) splendour. This is the benedictory verse of Yadunātha Paṇḍita.

DOCUMENT 23.

The term to be considered here is ‘aurasaputra’ (son of the body). In the particular expression ‘aurasaputra’, the qualifying word ‘aurasa’ which is a taddhita derivative in form is used with reference to issue personally begotten by one. As regards the term ‘putra’ it is universally known that it is a synonym of the term ‘issue’. Here are the authorities regarding this sense of the term ‘putra’. The *Kośa*, for instance, says, “The terms ātmaja, tanaya, sūnu, suta and putra when put in the feminine gender are understood by everybody to signify ‘daughters’ only”. The meaning of (the passage in) the *Kośa* is as follows. The above group of words which begin with ‘ātmaja’ and end with ‘putra’ are all equivalent to the word ‘issue.’ But when used in a specific sense to denote female species comprehended within the (generic) term ‘issue’ they appear in the feminine gender. In that case the forms ‘ātmajā’, ‘tanayā’, ‘sūnū’, and ‘putri’ are to be used. But when that sense is not intended, (the forms) should be simply ‘ātmaja’ etc. A supplementary hymn attached to the Rigveda runs, “Thou who bringest forth many *putras* shall never suffer from sorrow.” (Here we have to explain) *bahu putrāni*. The supplementary verse is certainly referring to the state of becoming the mother of many issue. Nor is here an intention to denote issues having no sex. On the contrary the intention is clearly to refer to issue of both the sexes. Thus a word denoting issue in the generic sense is used in the neuter gender. In the specific sense of male issue, however, the form should be masculine ‘putra.’ Words implying a genus are in the neuter gender. Manu has, “In cases of bequests etc. shares accrue to *putras* who are *mithuna* without any distinction whatsoever, this is the injunction of Svāyambhuva Manu.” *Mithuna*, that is to say, both male and female. *Mithuna* and *dvanda* stand for ‘male and female,’ this is (gathered) from the *Kośa*. *Manvartha-vivaranam* and *Nirukta-Vedāṅga* also are of the opinion that *putras* of both sexes are entitled to become heirs. If (it is urged) that *putra* should be used in its specific sense because

of our awareness of the use of the word in the sense of male issue only among the uncultured Non-Aryans, that also is not (valid). For it is opposed to the commentary to the *Āśvalāyana Sūtra* which notices the use of the term *putra* to denote both male and female issue in Aryan as well as Non-Aryan usage. The word *putra* is noticed in common usage as being used in the sense of daughter, e.g., 'come O Son'. 'Common usage' (referred) to here no doubt will be meaningless unless taken to cover the Non-Aryan usage. Therefore it is clear that the interpretation of the word *putra* as both female and male issue is justified by usage also. That one should not wrongly think that the word *putra* does not comprehend the term *kanyā* is clearly shown by the commentary to the *Vyākaraṇa Kaumudi* entitled *Manoramā* as follows: "the word *putra* (also) conveys the sense of female issue." Thus after considering the term *putra* with the help of diverse authorities it becomes clearly established that it is capable of denoting both male and female issue. Therefore both male and female issue should be considered as *aurasa putra* or son of the body.

DOCUMENT 24

Prosperity.

May the endless prayers offered by Pandit Viśvanatha Dīkshita Agnihotrin the protégé of the chief among the great princes Mahārāja Rāo Rājā Vinayasiṁha, the ruler of Alwār in the western region, shed lustre on that illustrious chief of the Europeans, who is the most excellent among the excellent rulers, resident of the city of *Kilakilā* and is the principal refuge (of all); who is designated as *Lāta Sāheba* the paramount ruler; around whose lotus feet are waved in adoration the crest-jewels on the head of numerous princes; and who has attained the sovereignty of the earth by virtue of his devotion to the unknowable supreme spirit which is without parallel and is the embodiment of being, consciousness and beatitude. Peace (prevails) here. I have been residing in (the city of *Gayā* in the province of Kīkaṭa till this day, Monday of the dark fortnight of *Jyaishṭha* in the year *Kshaya*, observing the rites of *agnihotra* with my pupils and family. The matter which deserves now to be brought to the notice of your Lordship is as follows. Having secured the permission of the illustrious Mahārāja for pilgrimage we arrived at *Prayāga* by the route of *Argalāpura*. Having resided there for a few days we came to *Kāśi* where also we halted. Thereafter while proceeding to *Gayā* we being invited by the merchant *Hīralāla* of the shop at the village of Rājā *Modānārayaṇasiṁha* lying 5 krosas from *Gayā* to the west, we made a settlement as regards charges, took up our lodging in his market place and finished our (usual) business including meals as on other days. At night while we were asleep thieves belonging to the village came in and seized my ornaments, cash (and other belongings). As they were making off a Brāhmaṇa of our party woke up and caught a thief by his knees. Thereupon the thief having struck the Brāhmaṇa on the head with a dagger and having given him a kick on the chest the latter fell into a swoon. After this all of us belonging to my party woke up. An attempt was made to bring a lamp but although all the people of that road were

conversing with each other in their respective houses none of them came forward inspite of a cry being raised that the thieves were going away; nor did anybody open their door to lend a lamp. Then the owner of the market place was sent for. He also did not come. Thereupon we called for. He however came after some interval and made a light. While looking round (he came across) the unconscious Brāhmaṇa. After the latter had been brought round (it was found) in the course of the inspection of the goods thereof that (the thieves) had collected property to the value of four thousand including gold, pearls, silver, jewellery and gold and silver coins. He then (reported the matter) to (an officer of) the rank of *barakandāža* and brought him in the space of a *prahara* from (Panchānapura). Both of them having arrived at the place made a local inspection but remained unenlightened at the time. (Thereafter) having arrived at a place called Panchānapura (there in a certain house) we found four iron implements of the burglar viz., first, dagger, second, (the tool) called knife, third, (the tool) called tongs, fourth, the implement called 'keys'. Even though they discovered there not less than 15 keys they observed that these were the (legitimate) property of the owner of the house and closed the door. The next day an officer of the designation of *Jamādāra* came from the town of Takāri two krosses off. He made an enquiry here and there and having taken written depositions from two or three persons ordered everybody to return to their own residence. After this we came to Gayā from Panchānapura and submitted a representation to the Magistrate. He received it and went through it but did not give any reply. Thereupon waiting silently for 10 to 15 days we again made a representation explaining our object. Having seen it he passed the following order; "It is for you to search for the thieves. What have we to do?" Thereafter we moved about hither and thither for about twenty days, and having got some clue we again submitted a representation praying that officers might be ordered to search in the house suspected by us. An order was issued to that effect. The next day we went with the officer concerned to the house of a certain gambler. While making the search a bodice which formed part of my articles

stolen by thieves was round. The gambler was thereupon taken into custody and we came to the place called *thāṇā* (police station). Being questioned by the officer of that station as to how that article came to his house he put in writing that this was given to him by the proprietor of the very marketplace in the village *Panchānapura* where these gentlemen had taken up their lodgings, and attested to it of his own free will.

On the third day when questioned on his arrival in the presence of Magistrate, he submitted a rambling account different (from the previous) concealing (the nature of) his own profession as tutored by others. Having (thereafter) received the official order that he should go home after making over the article to the officers, he went away. Then the recovered bodice was made over to me and order was given to us that we should go on with further search. Now, if the ruler continues thus to take sides with thieves what help is there for wayfarers as well as subjects (in general)? Moreover, it is testified by the *Mitāksharā* in the section on law-suits that it is not possible for a ruler to cherish his subjects without chastising the wicked. After stating that "the king should investigate law-suits himself" (the text goes on to say) that "the king should appoint as assessors men who are learned, studious, well-versed in law, truthful and impartial to friends and foes alike. Those assessors who act contrary to the texts of law out of passion, greed or fear are each to be punished with a fine of double the amount of the disputed sums." Hence, these people as they fall under the operation of the above quoted (text) ought to be severely dealt with. Again, it is the duty of the Chief Judge to punish a thief as well as restore the property stolen by him in accordance with the text that "the thief should be recognised by the police by (his possession) of stolen goods, by means of footprints, by his having committed (similar) offence previously and by his living in disreputable houses." (He is) to investigate a law suit immediately according to the text which begins with the word "violence, theft, abusive speech." Since a wayfarer like me who has been robbed of his property cannot know that these (persons) in the village are thieves and these are honest it may be asked what right I have to enter into a discussion

of this kind about this place. I have no right. But (I have been induced to do so) out of the conviction that the disrepute of the agent also devolves on the principal. Whatever the local officers of this place do contrary to law they ascribe to their master, though Your Excellency has not the least fault in this matter. Your Excellency has done nothing except issuing instructions that law suits should be conducted strictly in accordance with the legal texts. My feeling in this respect is that the former rulers used to appropriate for themselves any treasure taken by others after penalising them. Now there is not the least covetousness for such things. Such is Your Excellency's regard for the maxims of law that no one can escape by giving even a crore in cash such penalty as he deserves. As regards the goods stolen from me your esteemed lordship should kindly take into consideration every fact in accordance with the usage (enjoined by) the text, "when reinvestigating a law-suit which was ill-investigated the king shall impose a fine of double the disputed sum on the assessors as well as the winning party," and order the chief magistrate of the locality to get the thief traced and property restored with the help of the village chief, in compliance with the following text of the chapter on theft in the *Mitāksharā Smṛiti*; "The responsibility of a theft or an assault lies with the headman of a village or the proprietor of an enclosed ground (as the case may be) as long as it can be shown that the culprit has not gone out of the village or the ground in question, and with the policeman, if it is committed on the road or in a place other than an enclosure." If the thief cannot be tracked it behoves you to issue orders that the lost property should be restored to me and to do whatever is necessary for recovering the stolen goods. It will be superfluous to write further to your esteemed lordship who is experienced (in this matter).

Names of the (lost) articles in vernacular :—

Goṭhs, 2 pairs, 36 tolahs (Rs.) 612

Pāṭhalī 1 pair, 12 tolahs (Rs.) 204

Kamgaṇā 2 pairs 4 tolahs (Rs.) 68

Hasulī (small) 6 tolahs (Rs.) 102

Sari 1, 13 tolahs (Rs.) 221

Vindali 1 pair 4 tolahs (Rs.) 68

(Lacunae covering 4 lines)

() rings of ()

These are the articles of gold set with stones.

Jaipuri coins 20 at Rs. 15 each (Rs.) 300

Coins of *Mahārājā Śāśār*(?) 5 (Rs.) 7

Coins of Lucknow (Rs.) 16

Patali 1 (Rs.) 5½

Tikali 5 tolahs (Rs.) 30

A necklace of *gośrimga* (Rs.) 12½

Ketaka 2 totahs (Rs.) 34

Rākhadī 1 (Rs.) 17

Māthekā-phul 1 tolahs (Rs.) 17

Gāthali (Rs.) 25½.

Nath motī wa bīrā wālī 1 (Rs.) 2024

1 pair of *kāp* (Rs.) 150

Motī kā dānā vinā voy (Rs.) 100

Nīla (*nīlā*) 10 (Rs.) 20

Pushparāg 10 (Rs.) 20

Sātpbulīmotī (Rs.) 28

1 pair of *bbokrā* (Rs.) 50

1 pair of *chaukadā* (Rs.) 216

Katorī 2 pieces Rs. 23

Chamachyā (Rs.) 5

Pelā 1 (Rs.) 6

Pohachā 5 (Rs.) 5

1 pair of *kadā* 5 (Rs.) 5

1 pair of *todā* (Rs.) 50

1 pair of *bichoya* (Rs.) 14

1 pair of *masolā* (Rs.) 7

1 pair of *bālī jbumkā* (Rs.) 50

4 pairs of *pillī* (Rs.) 5

1 pair of *phulpāvak* (Rs.) 3

1 pair of *ghumghurū* (Rs.) 12

1 Piece of silver (Rs.) 8

Cash Rs. 240

These include only the silver articles

Three bodices of women

One brass trunk containing cloths for tying up ornaments and cloths for tying up cash as well as ornaments,

DOCUMENT 25.

(1)

(It is found in) in Kalpataru and Ratnākara that Kātyāyana speaks of partition being made also according to differences of locality etc. 'Whatever may be the custom obtaining in a locality, a Community a guild or a village that very custom should be followed in effecting a partition, Bhrigu,' that is to say, 'so says Bhrigu.' This opinion is clearly expressed in the *Vyavahāratattva* compiled by Śri Raghunāthanandana Bhaṭṭāchāryya.

(2)

Jimutavāhana makes the following remarks: "Vyāsa, accordingly, propounds" 'that division according to mothers is prescribed for the sons who are sprung from the same father and are equal in caste and number but have different mothers'. Bṛihaspati also states that "when there are many sons sprung from one father equal in caste and number but born of different mothers, a legal division may be effected by adjusting the shares according to the mothers." Here caste and number being the same the division (of shares) between stepbrothers cannot be on the basis of their individual rights. The rule enjoining divisions according to mothers makes the mother the principal (party in the transaction). (Hence) the division should be made taking into view that it is not a (case of) division among sons but (one of) division among their mothers. This is the interpretation. Therefore as in (the case of) other wealth of the mothers here also, mutual division among sons is invalid in the life-time of the mothers. Hence the increase in righteousness from division spoken of by Gautama and others is to be understood (as accruing) on mother's death only."

Since (to consider divisibility of) fathers' estates as dependent on mother's death leads to the fallacy of construing a purport not perceived, that (view) has already been refuted. These are the opinions of Vyāsa, Bṛihaspati and Gautama (as quoted) in the *Viramitrodaya*. Peace.

NOTES

NOTES

DOCUMENT 1

The document is written on a sheet of country-made paper measuring 20" by 10". The script is Devanāgari. As regards orthography the following points may be noted: the letters *n* and *m* when followed by a consonant are replaced by *anusvāra*, an exception being provided by *n* followed by *m*. The practice of duplicating consonants after *r* is confined to dentals only, e.g. *karttavya*. The *b* sound is represented by *v*. There is one slip of pen. The word *satve'pi* in line 4 should read *sattve'pi*. As regards punctuation the only point that may interest readers is that stops of all varieties are represented by dots. Two vertical lines indicate the beginning of a fresh line.

1. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, 7. 13 (12^a), Bonn. Univ. Edn. 1879. *Sāṃkhyāyana Śrautasūtra*, 15. 17^a (Bibl. Ind. Series).

1a. Quoted in the *Dattaka Mīmāṃsā*, III, 36.

2. *Manu*—IX, 180. The first two *charaṇas* of the verse read; “*kshetrajādin sutān etān ekādaśa yathoditān*.”

3. *Manu*—IX, 182. Bühler translates the verse as: “If among brothers, sprung from one (father) one have a son, *Manu* has declared them all to have male offspring through that son.”

4. *Mitāksharā-kāra*—*Vijñāneśvara*, who was a contemporary of *Vikramāditya* of *Kalyāna* (1075-1127).

Hemādri—author of the *Chaturvarga-chintāmaṇi* (1260-1309), an imposing *dharmanibandha* consisting of 5 big chapters. He was the minister and secretary (*Srikaraṇādhīpa*) to *Mahādeva* (1260-71) and *Rāmachandra* (1271-1309), the two powerful rulers of the *Yādava* dynasty.

Madanaratna—or more properly, the *Madanaratna-pradīpa*, a huge encyclopaedia of law in 7 books compiled most probably in the latter half of the 17th century (*Hindu Law and Customs*, pp. 80-81). The author of the work was *Madanapāla*. “As he glorifies Delhi and polemises against the authors of the South and East”, he probably belonged to the North West.

Viramitrodaya—the legal digest (and not the commentary of the same name) by *Mitra Miśra*, the court poet of *Vira Siṃha*, the *Bundela* King of *Orchha*. The latter was a contemporary of *Akbar* and lived up to *Shah Jahan*’s reign.

Mayūkha—or more properly, *Vyavāramayūkha* being one of the 12 sections (mayūkhas) of *Nilakanṭha*’s famous work,

Bhagavanta-Bhāskara. This was written by the author in honour of the Rajput prince Bhagavantadeva of the family of the Sengaras of Bhareha at the confluence of the Jumna and the Chambal, in the North Western Provinces. (*Hindu Law & Customs*, p. 84). His date has been fixed as falling between 1610 and 1645 A.D.

5. *Yājñavalkya*.—The reference is to *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti*, II, 8, 135-136. N.B. According to the *Smṛiti* (III, 110) *Yājñavalkya* is said to have composed a treatise on *Yogaśāstra* also.

6. *Vriddha-Parāśara*.—Also known as *Bṛihat-Parāśara*, is an extensive work about 5 times the bulk of *Parāśara* and is really an enlarged version of *Parāśara* (Jolly, *Hindu Law and Customs*, p. 51). It must be a very late work, as the earliest treatise to mention it is Bhattoji's comment on the *Chaturvimśatimata* (p. 138). The verse in question has also been quoted by *Nandapāṇḍita* in his *Dattakamīmāṃsā* (p. 16).

7. *Parāśara*.—Kane places him about the 5th century A. D. *Parāśara-smṛiti* has been published in the *Bombay Sanskrit Series*.

8. *Mitāksharāvām yathāha*.—*Mitāksharā*, 130 (see *Nirnaya-sagara* Press edition of *Yājñavalkya smṛiti*, p. 213). The verse of Manu is taken from *Manusamṛhitā*, IX, 168.

9. *āpadgrahayād etc.*.—*Mitāksharā*, 130.

10. *tathā ekaputro etc.*.—*Mitāksharā*, 130. *Vasishṭha*, XV, 1-8.

11. *Śaunaka*.—Probably *Śaunaka Smṛiti*. So far only one manuscript of this work has been found (vide B.B.R.A.S., Cat. p. 208). But it is not known if the verse quoted occurs in this manuscript. The verse however has been quoted by *Nandapāṇḍita* in the *Dattakamīmāṃsā*, 54.

12. *The Mahābhārata*, I, 100. 67 (Bombay Edition).

13. *Manu*.—IX, 106.

13a. Quoted in the *Dattakamīmāṃsā*, p. 24. But there the word *asapīṇḍa* appears in the vocative case.

14. *Nandapāṇḍita*. The epithet *Dharmādhikārin* indicates that he was a member of the famous *Dharmādhikārin* family of Benares. Two other members of the same family viz., *Jagannāth Dharmādhikāri* and *Mahidhar Dharmādhikāri* appear among the signatories to DOCUMENT 2. On the *Dharmādhikāri* family See *Mandlik, Hindu Law*, LXXII, p., n 3. According to him the founder of the family was *Lakshmidhara*, a resident of Bidar who had migrated to Benares. The most illustrious member of the family was *Vināyaka Pāṇḍita* (1595-1623), author of the *Dattakamīmāṃsā*.

15. *Gangarama Joshi*. He may be the same as 'Gangarama Sarma,' the 5th signatory to the Sanskrit address of congratulations sent by Benares Pandits to Warren Hastings in 1796 (*Debatis*

of *House of Lords*, 1797, pp. 755-768 quoted in the *Testimonials of good conduct to Warren Hastings by the Benares Pandits—A. D. 1796*, by P. K. Gode, *Journal of Tanjore S. M. Library*, Vol. II, no. 1, pp. 10-14).

16. *Vaijanātha Bhatta*—may be the same as the signatory no. 10 to DOCUMENT 2.

17. *Dīnānātha Deva*—perhaps identical with, 'Dīnānātha' of DOCUMENT 2.

18. *Gunesvara Bhatta*—same as 'Gunesvar Bhat' of DOCUMENT 2.

19. *Bhavāniśāṅkara*—identical with "Bhavani Sankara surnamed Thakura" the 45th signatory to the Sanskrit address of congratulations sent by the Benares Pandits to Warren Hastings in 1797 (Gode, *Op. cit.*). His name occurs also among the signatories to DOCUMENT 2 in the present collection.

20. *Kripā-Krishṇa Yājñika*—his name occurs among the signatories to both DOCUMENT 2 and the Sanskrit address referred to under note 19.

21. *Ardhamāṇopanāmaka Rājārāma*—identical with signatory no. 39 to the Sanskrit address referred to in note 19 above. The surname Ardhamaṇa is evidently the Sanskritised form of *Adamāṇe*.

22. *Jagannātha Miśa*—his name occurs among the signatories to DOCUMENT 2.

23. *Punyatambhakara*—Sanskritised form of the surname 'Puntamabekar'.

24. *Paurāṇikopākhyā Ātmārāma Bhatta*—Signatory no. 14 to DOCUMENT 2.

25. Same as 'Anant Rām Bhat' of DOCUMENT 2. He is referred to as one of the prominent pandits in Benares in the note on the *Trial by Ordeal among the Hindus* contributed by Ali Ibrahim Khan to the Asiatic Society of Bengal (*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I., p. 389).

26. Same as 'Dadam Bhatta Sarma, surnamed Bhatta' of the Sanskrit address referred to in note 19. He was also one of the signatories to DOCUMENT 2.

27. *Meghanātha Deva*—Same as 'Meghanāth Dev' of DOCUMENT 2.

28. *Sesha Hari Rāma*—Same as 'Sesha Hari Rama Panta' of the Sanskrit address referred to in note 19 above.

29. It is not known whether this Govinda Rāma was identical with the 'Govinda Rama', the court Pandit referred to by Ali Ibrahim Khan (*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I., p. 389).

30. *Nilakantha Sarman*—His name occurs first in the list of signatories to DOCUMENT 2.

31. *Nānā Pāthaka*—He was also among the signatories to DOCUMENT 2. He is mentioned as a Benares Pandit in the note on Trial by Ordeal contributed to the Asiatic Society by Ali Ibrahim Khan (*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I., p. 389).

32. Is he the same as *Sitā Rām Bhatṭa Puranic* of DOCUMENT 2?

33. *Bhairava Dīkshīta*—Perhaps the same as signatory no. 5 of DOCUMENT 2.

34. *Bhīshma Bhatṭa*—He is referred to by Ali Ibrahim Khan in his note on Trial by Ordeal (*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I., p. 389).

DOCUMENT 2

The collection in which the document occurs consists of 2 pages each measuring 9.5" by 6". The first two pages contain the Persian translation of the address. The third page begins with a seal in Arabic of Qazi Naqi Khan, dated 1201 A. H., who is probably to be identified with 'Ali Naqi, Vakil of 'Ali Ibrahim Khan, Magistrate of Benares (*Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. VII. no. 1046). The seal is followed by the address which occupies pp. 3 and 4. Pp 5-8 contain the names of the signatories in the Persian script. Most of the names have been mis-transliterated.

The address is evidently a copy. It is written in Devanāgari. There are several spelling mistakes which must be attributed to the copyist. As regards orthography the following points may be noted:—‘m’ and ‘n’ when followed by consonants are usually substituted by *m*, but there are exceptions to this practice, e.g. *Kampāni*, *samāyānti*; distinction between *v* and *b* has not always been observed; e.g. *avda* (in place of *abda*), *vrāmah* (in place of *brāmah*). As in DOCUMENT 1, consonants retain their single form after *r*. An exception is provided by dentals.

Full stops are indicated by means of double vertical bars and shorter pauses by means of blanks between sentences or clauses.

A free English translation of this document has been preserved in *TRANSLATIONS OF ORIGINAL LETTERS RECEIVED*, 1788 B., p. 56.

Another inaccurate rendering has been published in the *Proceedings at the Trial of Warren Hastings*.

1. *Yugakrita*—‘Four followed by four’, *dhriti*—18. The year is therefore 1844 V. S.

2. *Navapūrnātyashti*—Nine preceded by zero and seventeen i. e. 1709.

3. *Adhigubatithi*—Tithi presided over by Guha or Kārttikeya i. e., the 6th lunar day. The date corresponds to 16 November, 1787.

4. Hastings framed a number of regulations for the improvement of the administration, trade and commerce of Benares and he wrote in a letter to Wheler, “I have the happiness to find all men satisfied and happy in the excellent administration of Benares.” Forrest, *Selections from State Papers*, Vol. III, pp. 816-17, 1095, 1117 and 1119.

5. *Gangāputra*.—According to V. S. Apte, “a Brahmana who conducts pilgrims to the Ganges”. From the ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF PERSIAN LETTERS RECEIVED (1788, Vol. 28, p. 57) it appears that the term used to be applied to the officiating priests in general. In Bengal the *Doms* in charge of the cremation grounds on the banks of the Ganges are also styled as *Gangāputras*.

6. In his letter to Wheler, already referred to, Hastings opined that the pilgrims should be encouraged in every way. In 1781 he abolished the pilgrim-tax and framed a few regulations to protect them “against every means of oppression.” Forrest, *Op. cit.*, p. 1117. Also see *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. VI, pp. 535 and 808.

7. Ali Ibrahim Khan served under Alivardi Khan and Mir Qasim with distinction. He was appointed Chief Magistrate of Benares in 1781, and held that office till his death in 1793. Hastings thought very highly of his character and ability and alluded to the Chief Magistrate’s “character for moderation, disinterestedness and good sense” in a note to the Council. Forrest, *Op. cit.*, p. 816.

8. See Forrest, *Op. cit.*, p. 816 and *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. VI, p. 292.

The relevant part of the proclamation is as follows: “In all cases which depend on the particular laws and institutions of the parties, the said President and Judges shall adjudge the right as established by those facts according to the respective laws and institutions of the parties, whether they be Mussalmen or Hindus and for this purpose they shall be assisted by two Maulvis versed in the Sheriat..... and two Pundits versed in the Poetee of justice.” Forrest, *Op. cit.*, p. 817; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. VI, p. 292.

9. Balavant Singh, Raja of Benares, (1739-1770), was succeeded by his son Chet Singh, who was deposed by Hastings in 1781.

10. Hastings visited Benares on the 13th March 1784 on his way to Lucknow. During the return journey he spent about a month (13th September to 22nd October) at the holy city. *Calend-
ar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. VI, pp. 985, 992, 998 and 1421.

11. For correct transliteration of the names see English Translation.

DOCUMENT 3

This document like the previous one consists of 12 pages measuring 10" by 6.5". The first page contains the Sanskrit address; the third Ali Naqi Khan's seal and a Persian translation of the address. The names of the signatories occur on the 4th, the 5th and the 6th pages. As in the previous document most of the names have been mis-copied.

The address is written in the, 18th century Bengali script normal a good many examples of which will be found in the *Prachin Bangala Patra Sankalan*, published by Calcutta University in this very series. There are several slips, all of which must have been due to the copyist. Shorter pauses are indicated by means of single vertical bars and larger ones by double vertical bars.

An inaccurate English translation of the document occurs in the TRANSLATIONS OF ORIGINAL LETTERS, RECEIVED, 1788 B., p. 58.

DOCUMENT 4

It is written on one side of a sheet measuring 15" by 6". The document is lavishly ornamented with gold. The script is Devanāgarī. There are several errors both in grammar and orthography. Double vertical bars indicate the beginning of a fresh line. The cover of the document bearing the seal of the writer has been preserved with the document. A Persian abstract of the document will be found in the ABSTRACTS OF LETTERS RECEIVED, No. 56, p. 3.

1. *Kāmnāvalīśa*—Assimilation of *r n* into *m n* is a characteris-
tic of Western Prākrits. e. g. *Sātakamni* < *Sātakarni* (Rapson,

(Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, pp. 4, 29, 38, 40). Parallels also occur in Kharoṣṭhi Prākrits, e. g. *uṇṇa>urṇa* (Burrow, *The Language of the Kharosthi Documents*, p. 13).

2. *Sāmīryamtaiti*--Sāmi + īryamte + iti.
3. Formed by adding *kan* to the honorific, *Babuī*.

DOCUMENT 5

Written on both sides of a sheet of hand-made paper measuring about 18" x 11". The script is Devanāgarī. As regards orthography almost the same peculiarities are noticed as those exemplified in DOCUMENT 1. As in that document no distinction is maintained between "v" and "b". There are a few slips towards the end of the petition. Stops are indicated by means of blank spaces between words and sentences.

Regarding the date of this and the two following documents see INTRODUCTION. All three seem to be in the same hand.

The document has a Persian abstract annexed to it. Another Persian abstract has been preserved in ABSTRACTS OF LETTERS RECEIVED, no. 322, page 8.

1. This and the following verse are in the *Anushṭubh* metre
2. The metre is *Sārdulavikrīdita*.
3. This as well as the next verse is in *Mālinī*.
4. A case of *sāpekshatve'pi gamakarvāt samāsa*.

5. *Sihonda*—See INTRODUCTION. It is evidently to be identified with Sihonda a town in the Banda District. It is situated on the right bank of the Ken river about 12 miles south of the town of Banda. During Akbar's reign it became the headquarters of a *pargana* of the Kalinjar *Sarkar* in the *Subah* of Allahabad and throughout the Mughal period it continued to be the seat of the civil administration of that *Sarkar*. Under the Bundelas Sihonda became the headquarters of the Jagir allotted to Diwan Kirat Singh, son of Jagatraj. But it steadily declined in importance after the headquarters had been transferred to the town of Banda. The town was incorporated into the dominions of Ali Bahadur in or about 1792 when the latter drove away Bakht Bali, nephew of Guman Singh from Banda. (*District Gazetteer of the United Provinces*, Vol. XX, pp. 289-90; E. T. Atkinson, *Statistical and Historical account of the North Western Provinces of India*, pp. 129-30 and 582). Prof A. H. Nizami tells me that Sihonda finds

mention in the *Virabbānūdaya Kāvya* (p. 44), a Sanskrit historical poem of the 16th century.

6. Rāmāyaṇa, I. Mahābhārata, II, 12; III, 77, Bhāgavata, XI, 7, Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, VII.

7. Bhāgavata, IX, 21. The story occurs in a slightly different form in the Nakulākhyānam (Mahābhārata, XIV, 90).

8. Mahābhārata, XIV, 92. 6

9. Śibi-charitam—Mahābhārata III, 197 and Śyena-Kapotiya, Mahābhārata, III, 130-131.

10. Bhāgavata, VII, 22; and Mahābhārata, II, 47, III, 272.

11. Vyādhakapotākhyānam (Mahābhārata, XII, 243-248).

DOCUMENT 6

Written on a sheet of hand-made paper measuring 16" by 12". There is nothing special to observe regarding the script, the language or punctuation. Here also, no distinction has been observed between "v" and "b".

1. The metre is *Śārdula-vikrīdita*.

2. The reference is evidently to the mythic king, Veṇa (also spelt as "Veṇu," vide, the *Medinī*), father of Pṛithu. Mahābhārata, VII, 69; XII, 28; Bhāgavata, IV, 13; Vishṇupurāṇa I, 23).

3. The metre is *Mālinī*.

4. This and the next six verses are on the *Anushtubb* metre.

DOCUMENT 7

The document measures 16.5" by 6" in size. It is written on indigenous hand-made paper, lavishly ornamented with squares in gold.

1. *Kausaladhishtātrishu*—The names of the Members are : Lt. General Sir A. Clarke, P. Speke and W. Cowper.

2. *Bundelakbandākhyarāshtrādhīśa*—See INTRODUCTION.

DOCUMENT 8

As pointed out in the INTRODUCTION the petition which is prefaced by the Sanskrit verses in question is written in Persian. The document is 39" x 6.5" in size. It is written in good ink on country-made paper and is bespangled with gold-squares. The Sanskrit portion is written in clear and bold Devanāgarī script, the Persian portion in *shikasta*. As regards orthography the only points to be noted is that the author uses *anusvāra* in place of *m*, *ñ* and *n*, when they are followed by consonants, and that he uses double *t* after *r*. The rule of 'natva' has been violated in the spelling of the word *Mārntīna*. The word *tyakta* has been wrongly written as *tyatka* in the first line of the second verse.

The document itself does not contain the name of the writer. But there is a copy of it in the COPIES OF PERSIAN LETTERS RECEIVED, vol. 13, p. 385, which bears the following superscription in English: "Letter of Kashinath to Lord Mornington Governor General Received—Third June 1801."

DOCUMENT 9

The document is 19.5" x 9" in size and is written in beautiful Devanāgarī characters on country-made rag paper which has been treated with gold wash. Although some of the letters are faded the document is on the whole in a good state of preservation. As regards orthography there is no peculiarity to observe except that the practice of duplicating the consonants after *r* has been observed only in case of *t*. *N*, *n*, and *m*, when followed by other consonants, have invariably always been represented by an *anusvāra*. The *w* sound has been represented by *v* with a dot put below it. The *b* sound is indicated by the letter *v*.

1. The expression suggests a comparison of the addressee with the Boar incarnation of Vishṇu.
2. Ar. *Nawab Mustatāb*
3. Ar. *Muala-i-alqāb*
4. Ar. *Asbraf-ul-ashrāf*
5. Marquess Wellesley
6. Governor-General
7. Ar. *Dam-i-Iqb-al-e-bu*

8. Probably stands for *sants* and *mabants*. Many among the signatories are *mabants* and at least two of them call themselves *sants*.

9. Jagannātha Rājaguru, last among the signatories. Professor G. S. Das of Ravenshaw College is inclined to identify him with the Jagannātha the rebel, who was responsible for a small uprising in Khurdah just after the British occupation.

10. i. e. The 36 orders into which the immediate attendants on the god are divided. The Raja of Khurdah, the representative of the ancient royal house of Orissa holds the lowly office of sweeper to the god. According to Hunter (Orissa, Vol. I, p. 128) the Raja himself is the traditional head of the 36 orders. Prof. G. S. Das of Ravenshaw College informs me that the title borne by the Raja of Khurdah is that of the *Adhināyaka* of the 36 orders and that under him there is another officer called *nāyaka*. The present holder of the office is Dwarkanāth Patjoshi Mahapatra. It is therefore evident that Kṛiṣṇa Chandra Mahāpātra was not the head of the 36 orders but only a *nāyaka*. The Raja's deflection from loyalty to the British power about the date of the present document perhaps explains why it is not he but Kṛiṣṇa Chandra who is signing on behalf of the 36 orders.

11. Is this a reference to the following text in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* :

Tato 'śṭau yavanā bhavyāś chaturdaśa cha Tushkarāḥ.

bhuyo daśa Gurundācśha Maunā ekadaśaiva tu?

The belief that the *Gurunda* in the above text stands for Englishmen and that in the above passage the Puranic author predicted the British conquest of India is at least as old as the time when Cunningham completed his *History of the Sikhs* (1849). He informs us in that work that the Hindus of his time used to take the word *Gurunda* in the *Bhāgavata* text as referring to the English (p. 328 n). The belief may have been actually much older. It may be noted however that the word is most probably a copyist's mistake for *Muruṇḍa*. The mss of the *Vāyu* and the *Brahmāṇḍa* *Purāṇas* give the latter reading. For further discussion on *Gurunda* see *infra* DOCUMENT 24, notes.

12. Mr. G. S. Das informs me that the śloka occurs in a slightly modified form in the *Kshetra-māhātmya*, *Utkalakhanda* of the *Skandapurāṇa*, and that there the word *brahmadyairapi* has been substituted by *brāhmaṇenāpi*.

13. The three Goswami signatories, according to Mr. G. S. Das belonged to the famous Goswami family of Puri. The family

traces its descent from Nityānanda. It is reported that Śītalānanda and Krishṇachandra died at Athgarh near Cuttack and that their *samādhis* can still be found there.

DOCUMENT 10

The document consists of a single sheet, 13" x 9" in size, folded breadthwise about the middle.

The portion containing the text has been repaired with tracing paper, other portions by hand-made paper.

On the docket appears the entry: "Pol. 1808 Dept. (In a letter from Rest at) Delhi dt/12 Feby/Recd 26 do Translate accompd." The forwarding letter referred to is not traceable among the records of the Political Department.

On the second page of the reverse side occurs the Persian translation of the text bearing the following superscription:

"Sanskrit copy and Persian/Translation of the inscription on the rupee lately coined by Jeshavant Rao Holkar."

For comments on orthography see INTRODUCTION.

DOCUMENT 11

The document is written on an oblong sheet measuring 25.5" by 8" made of country-made rag paper. The sheet is badly torn along the left margin and many of the words in the first 25 lines are lost. On the bottom of the sheet there is an embossed stamp containing the expression *khājānā āmārā* in Devanāgarī, Bengali and Persian scripts, with its English translation "Treasury". This indicates that the paper must have been submitted by the party concerned to the Treasury office.

The document consists of two parts, the first containing the question put to the Benares pandits and the second the answer given by the latter. The first part is written in the Marathi script while the second is in Devanāgarī. As regards orthography the same peculiarities are noticed as in DOCUMENT 9. While the

first part maintains the distinction between *v* and *b* sounds
this has not always been done in the second part.

1. There is a lacuna of four letters.
2. A lacuna of two letters.
3. A lacuna of four letters.
4. A lacuna of about six letters.
5. A lacuna of five letters.
6. A lacuna of two letters.
7. A lacuna of seven letters.
8. A lacuna of five letters.
9. A lacuna of three letters.
10. The syllable though somewhat faded can be read as *ta*.
11. Two letters missing.
12. Evidently a slip.
13. One letter missing.
14. Eight letters missing.
15. One letter missing.
16. Three letters missing.
17. *Abosvit*—a particle implying doubt.
18. *Amkarshi-vasu-vasundharā*.—A chronogram for 9781 which when inverted yields the figure 1879. If this is referred to the Vikrama era it would become equivalent to 1822 A. D. The date of the 1st part of the document therefore will be Thursday, 9 May 1822.
19. Two letters missing.
20. The famous work by *Vijñāneśvara*.
21. See DOCUMENT 1, Note 4.
22. *Vyavahāra-mādhabīya*—the Vyavahāra section of the commentary by Madhvāchārya on Parāśara Smṛiti entitled the Parāśara-Smṛiti-Vyākhyā and known popularly as Parāśara-Mādhava. Madhvāchārya was the guru and minister of King Bukka, who has been identified with Bukka I (1276-93), the famous ruler of Vijayanagara. (Hultzsch, *Epigraphia Indica*, III, 36 and *South Indian Inscriptions*, I, p. 161).
23. A lacuna of about five letters.
24. A lacuna of four letters.
25. A lacuna of three letters.
26. A lacuna of two letters.

27. A lacuna of three letters.

28. *ta(dā)bhāve*—i.e. *sarveshāṁ dāyabbājāmabhāve*

29. One letter missing.

30. Four letters missing.

31. *Nāradavachanāt*—The text referred to is not traceable in the published *Nārada-Smṛiti* (*Sacred Books of the East*).

32. Four letters missing.

33. Do.

34. *Yājñavalkya*, II, 135-136.

35. Four letters are missing.

36. *Vishnu* (*Sacred Books of the East*), 17. 4-8.

37. *Śrīmatī*—No commentary of this name is traceable. Is it to be taken as a synonym of the *Lakṣmī-vyākhyāna* by Bālam-bhaṭṭa, which is an elaborate commentary on the *Mitākṣbarā*.

38. *Bṛihaspati*, 46-48 (*Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXXIII). In the *Mitākṣbarā* the 3rd verse is quoted as follows “*Kulyeshu* *vidyamāneśhu* *Pitribhrātriśanābhishu* *asutasya* *pramitasya* *patnī* *tad-bhāgabāriṇī* (Nirnayasagara press edition, p. 217). Jolly takes the reading *pitrimātri* instead of *pitribhrātri*.

39. *Ye putrā* etc.—*Bṛihaspati*, XXV, 68 (*Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 380).

40. *Sarvābhāve* etc.—*Manu*, IX, 189.

41. *Abāryam* etc.—*Manu*, IX, 189.

42. *Nārada*, XIII 52. According to Jolly the expression ‘*anyatra brāhmaṇat’ kintu*’ (unless it should be the property of a Brahman) should read together with the last sentence of the preceding verse: “In default of all, that goes to the king.” It has no syntactical connexion with ‘*rājā dharmaparāyaṇa*’, (*Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 201-2).

43. *Yaśmin dese* etc.—*Yājñavalkya*, I, 23, 343.

44. *Jyaishṭhāsitasaptamyām*—This would fix the date of the *vyavasthāpatra* as Monday, 13th May 1822.

The document has two copies. The first is written on an oblong sheet of rag paper measuring about 23.5" by 9.5". It bears no date and no signature. The docket reads: *Persian 1801. Dept. Two letters from Rao Pun/dit Perdaun one to Azeim/ool omra Bahadoor*

and the other to Nawab Aseif Jab/Bahadoor, enclosed in a letter from Stud/D/28—Nov. Evidently the docket has been put on the document by mistake. A clue to the author of the document is supplied by the 2nd copy which is also written on country-made paper and measures 22.5" by 10". It was found in the same collection with 10 other Persian documents. One of these is the Persian translation of the Sanskrit text in the present document. Another gives the history of the quarrel between Karan Singh and Ajit Singh, and the rest are documents submitted by the latter as evidence in support of his case. From an entry on the last page of the document it is clear that the original of these documents were taken back by the agent of Ajit Singh and what we have here are mere copies. All these appear to have been received in the Persian Department on 6 June 1825, and this definitely proves that the date on the docket of the first copy is entirely wrong.

The second copy gives the names of the four of the five pandits who endorsed the document (see INTRODUCTION). The text of the first copy is however less corrupt than the second and we have generally followed this copy. Important variations in reading have been noted in their proper places. As regards orthography the chief point to be noted is that no distinction is observed between the 'b' and the 'v' sounds. In other respects also the copies show the same peculiarities as DOCUMENT 1. Stops are indicated by two vertical bars in red in the first copy, and single vertical bars in black ink in the second copy.

1. Manu, IX, 216.
2. Bṛihaspati, XXV, 17-20.
3. Yājñavalkya, II, 8, 116.
4. Nārada, XIII, 15.
5. Bṛihaspati, XXV, 4.
6. Yājñavalkya, II, 8, 149.

7. *Vibhāgadharma*—This verse cannot be found in the published text of Yājñavalkya. The śloka however is quoted in the *Vyāvabāra-Mayūkha* (p. 60), where it is attributed to Vṛiddha Yājñavalkya. See also *Smṛiti-Chandrikā*, ed. J. R. Gharpure, p. 311.

8. Nārada, XIII, 34.

9. Not traceable in the published texts of Manu. But the verse is quoted in the *Smṛitichandrikā* (311).

10. Yājñavalkya, II, 8, 114.

11. Nārada, XIII 2; Jolly translates the word 'samam' as 'as they ought' (S. B. E., Vol. XXXIII, p. 189). But Dr. G. N. Jha reads the word to mean 'equally' (*Manusmṛiti, Notes*, part III, p. 726).

3. Yājñavalkya, II, 17-20.

12. *Urddhvam* etc.—Manu, IX, 104.

13. *Chasabdopadāne'pi* etc.—This is also the interpretation suggested by Kullūka, Rāghavānanda, Nārāyaṇa Nandana, Parāśara Mādhava, Viramitrodaya and Vyavahāramayūkha. The last work says that even though the text repeats the particle 'cha' yet it does not mean that both the parents should die before the property is divided (p. 41, ed. Gharpure, Bombay 1911).

14. *Yadyekajātā* etc.—Bṛihaspati, XXV, 15, 16.

15. Read *Sāpatnāstai* in place of *Sāmānyākshai*.

16. *Vyāsa*—A very frequently quoted verse of the Vyāsa-smṛiti. For a quotation by Jimūtavāhana see DOCUMENT 25. Cf. *Vyavahāramayūkha*, p. 45; *Vyavahāraprakāśa*, p. 451.

17. The reading given is that of the second copy. The first copy has *Samajātivimātrijeshu*.

18. The second copy reads *Samānā* for *Samāmsā*.

19. The reading here is that of the second copy. The first copy reads *jāta* in place of *jātā*.

20. *Sūdrasyatu* etc.—Manu, IX, 157

21. *Samavarṇāstu* etc.—Manu, IX, 156.

22. *Uddhāro na daśasu* etc.—Manu, IX, 115. The word *daśasu* "out of ten" should be read in context with Manu, IX, 114, which provides that the eldest is entitled to the best of ten animals as part of his preferential share.

23. *Tattvaśukti*—The name of this treatise is otherwise unknown. Neither Kane nor Jolly seems to have been aware of its existence. The name also is not traceable in Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*.

24. Manu, IX, 121

25. *Kātyāyana*—See Kane, *Kātyāyana-Smṛitisaṃroddhāra*, p. 107

26. *Vasishṭha*, I, 5-7.

27. The reading again is that of the second copy. The first copy reads *Pāñchālasurasenajah*.

28. The second copy reads *brahma-pradeśa*

29. Manu, II, 17, 19-20. The word *agrajanmanab* has been wrongly taken by the authors of the document to mean 'from an elder brother (earlier born)'. The real meaning according to Bühler (*Laws of Manu*, p. 33) is 'from a Brāhmaṇa'

30. The reading is that of the second copy, the first copy gives the reading *bibhajyeshu*.

31. Read *pratīpākāmkshayām*.

32. *Vamśa Priyabratasya etc.*—Bhāgavata, V. 1. Priyabratā was a son of Svāyambhuva Manu. He was invested by Brahman with the sovereignty of the whole world. On his death he divided the continents entrusted to him among his seven sons.

33. *Agnīdbrasuta*—Bhāgavata, II. Agnīdhra was invested by his father Priyabratā with the administration of Jambudvīpa. While he was practising austerities on the mountain Mandara he came across a celestial nymph called Pūrvachitti. From their union sprang nine sons who gave name to the 9 subdivisions of Jambudvīpa.

34. *Nipa*—Mārkandeyapurāṇa, 114-116.

35. *Bhalanda*—Read *Bhananda*. (Mārkandeyapurāṇa 114-116. Bhananda was the son by a Vaiśya woman, of Nābhāga, son of Dīshṭya. The story is that he was deprived of his inheritance by his uncles. But he received his training in the art of war from the royal sage Nipa. On his return he claimed back his territories. The issue was decided in his favour by a civil war.

36. Bhāgavata, III.

37. — do — IX, 4.

38. Read Bhīshma-Drona-Srikṛishṇa-Gāndhārī-vākyakrama.

DOCUMENT 13

The document is written on a sheet of hand-made paper measuring 19.25" by 6.5". The writing is mostly in black excepting for the word *chhatrabandha chitram*, which is in red. The letters composing the *chhatrabandha* have each been placed in a square made of red lines, and the squares have been arranged together in the form of an umbrella. The figure of the umbrella is followed by two other figures each made up of similar squares. The first consists of two vertical columns (each containing two rows of squares). The tops of the columns are joined by a pair of curve lines in red, thus giving the figure the appearance of an archway. The second figure is in the shape of a column made of three rows of small square. In each row we have the following letters arranged vertically: kālikāmamalābhāchayaśālāturasāpate. The same letters are to be found in the four rows composing the first figure but arranged in a reverse order. The document is decorated with small squares in gold. It also contains a translation of the introductory verse in Urdu.

Put in prose order the verse would read (*He*) *chayaśālāturasā-pate rasāpa amalābhā mamaśābhācha Kālikā yaśā te ām lātu.*

Chayaśālā—*chayasya sālā* or a place for storing wealth, treasury (see *Abhidbānachintāmaṇi*).

Āturasā—harbour (from *ātu* 'a ship' and *rasā* 'a place').

Rasāpa—*rasām pāti iti*, protector of the earth.

Amalābhā—of pure lustre.

Mamaśābhā—she whose splendour (*ābhā*) affects Śiva (*ma*) Brahman (*ma*) and Vāyu (*la*).

Kālikā—*kān* (i. e. divine progenitors) *alati* (*bhūshayati*) *iti kālib.* “*Kah prajapatiruddishtah*” (*Amarakosha*). By adding *kan* to the word *kāli* we have *kālikā*, meaning ‘she who illuminates the divine progenitors.’ The second expression *kālikā* signifies the goddess *Kālikā*.

Yaśā—Im (*Lakshmīm*) *asnute it tena* i.e with renown.

Ām—*māngalam*. Peace and prosperity (*pūjāyām chāpi māngalye ākārah parikīrtitah*—*Amarakosha*)

As in the preceding document no distinction has been observed between 'v' and 'b'.

DOCUMENT 14

Written on hand-made paper. Measures 33.5" by 6.5". The script is Devanāgarī. The text is full of misspelt words and in many cases words and even sentences are found missing. Besides the Sanskrit *vyavasthā* the sheet also contains a free translation of it in Persian, which is followed by the following words written in Devanāgarī—*kṛitarāshadhi Samūhadrolpadbī karūpanidhibh sadhanyo-bidhibh*. Apparently the document is a copy made by a transcriber who was innocent of Sanskrit. That this is a mere copy is also clear from an original Persian document annexed to the *vyavasthā*, which bears the seal of Ghulam Bhikā, the agent of Rani Sukhan of Jagadhri who, it appears from Political Proceedings, 114 Oct. 1829, nos. 147-49, made a petition on the latter's behalf to the Supreme Government. It appears from the Persian document that he had taken back the original Sanskrit *vyavasthā* with its Persian translation on 28 Sept. 1829. It further appears from the Political Proceedings referred to above that this *vyavasthā* along with Ghulam

Bhika's petition was received by Government on 11 August 1829. The document itself bears no date, and has been wrongly docketed as follows: "1829/ In a letter from the/ Acting Chief Secy. Bombay/ Dt. 14 July/ R 12 Aug/ no 476/ with translation". Evidently the docket belongs to some other document.

1. *Aparārka* or *Aparāditya* author of *Yājñavalkyāyadharmaśāstrā-nibandha*. According to Bühler he belonged to the Konkanese branch of the Silāhāra dynasty and wrote between 1140-1186 A. D., (*Kashmir Report*, p. 52)

2. *Manu*—IX, 196. The verse appears in *Aparārka*, p. 753, (Anandashrama edition, 1903).

3. *Yājñavalkya*—II, 8, 185.

4. *Viveka*—*Smṛitiviveka* of Śūlapāṇi (c. 1200 A. D.)?

5. *Madanapārijāta*—A treatise on law written by Viśveśvara-bhaṭṭa under the auspices of Madanapāla (dated c. 1375 A. D.). Published in *Bibliotheca Indica Series*.

6. *Tatpratyāsannānām*—The text of the *Mitāksharā* contains the word *sapiṇḍānām* after *Tatpratyāsannānām* (Nirnayasagara Press edn., p. 229)

7. *Ekaśeshanirdishtātāyā*—The reference is to the following passage in the *Mitāksharā*:—yadyapi yugapadadhikaraṇa-vachanātāyām dvandvasmaranāt tadapavādatvādekaśeshasya dhanagrahaṇe pitroh kramo na pratīyate tathāpi vigrahavākye matrīśabdasya pūrvanipātādekaśeshābhāvapakshe cha mātāpitārāviti mātṛīśabdasya pūrvam śravaṇāt pāṭha-kramādevārthakramāddhanasam-vandhe'pikramāpekshāyām pratitakramānurodhenaiva prathamanām mātā dhanabhāk tadābhāve piteti gamyate".

The passage is translated by Colebrooke as follows:—“Although the order in which the parents succeed to the estate does not clearly appear from the tenour of the text, since a conjunctive compound is declared to present the meaning of its several terms at once; and the omission of one term and retention of the other constitutes an exception to that (complex expression), yet as the word 'mother' stands first in the phrase into which that is resolvable, and is first in the regular compound *matapitarau* 'mother and father' when not reduced (to the simpler form *pitarau* parents) by the omission of one term and retention of the other; it follows from the order of the terms and that of the sense which is thence deduced, and according to the series thus presented in answer to an enquiry concerning the order of succession, that the mother takes the estate in the first instance; and, on failure of her, the father. (*Two Treatises on the Hindu Law of Inheritance*, p. 344).

8. *Tadābbhāve pitus*—This is wanting in the published text of the *Mitāksharā*.

9. *Māturdubitarah śesham*—The reference is to Yājñavalkya, II, 8, 117.
10. *Patnī dubitara etc.*—Yājñavalkya, II 8, 135-6.
11. *Sarīrārdham etc.*—See DOCUMENT 12, Note 32.
12. Supply the following words after *tadābhāve dubitrigāmi*:—
tadābhāve pitrigāmi tadābhāve mātrigāmi. Vishṇu, XIII, 4-17.

DOCUMENT 15

Written on one side of a sheet of what seems to be country-made paper. Measures 10.5" by 5.5". The document bears the signature of the author. The text is apparently in the hand of the signatory. The date of the document is given in the concluding sentence as the 8th day (bahula divasa) of the second month of Bhādra, V. S. 1890=Saturday 17 Sept. 1833. The style is faulty and there are a good many spelling mistakes.

1. *Lātasāhevabahādurasabbhāsoma*—Macnaghten was at this date in charge of the Secret and Political Department of the Fort William Government and rightly deserved the honorific bestowed on him.
2. *Gharib parwar*—(Persian) 'cherisher of the poor'
3. Obviously a slip. But it is difficult to guess the word the author had in mind.
4. There is a play on the word *guna*, which is used here to indicate both 'merit' and the grammatical rule under which the vowels 'i', 'u' etc. change into 'e', 'o' etc. The meaning of the sentence is, 'though the term *guna* usually signifies merit, by coming in contact with the root *dush* it has led only to the enhancement of my demerits (*dosha*)'.
5. Read 'mitirittham'.

DOCUMENT 16

Written on one side of a sheet of English paper measuring 10" by 8". The watermark reads, 'G. Wilmot 1831. The signa-

ture is that of the author, and the text appears to be in the same hand. The date of this letter is given as "the 20th day of the current month" in document no. 17. As the latter document is dated the 27th of Āśvin, the 'current month' should be taken to mean the month of Āśvin. This would fix the date of the document as 5th October 1833, if we refer it to the Bengali era. From the docket also it appears that the letter was delivered on the 5th October.

1. *Ryecroft Best*—see INTRODUCTION. p. 59n.

DOCUMENT 17

Written on one side of a sheet of what seems to be country-made paper. The paper bears no watermark. Measures 12.5" by 8". Bears the signature of the author. The text is also in the author's hand. The date given is 27th Āśvin which, when referred to the Bengali era, corresponds to 18th October 1833.

1. Reference is to DOCUMENT no. 16.
2. Read *Āśvinasya*.

DOCUMENT 18

Written on one side of a sheet of English paper measuring 8.7" by 14". The watermark reads, "Green and Sons 1832". The document bears neither any signature nor any date. The docket reads "1834/In a petition from Umbaram Shastree/the surviving son & Luchmee Bhyse/the widow of the late Venkat Ram Shastree. D/R (i.e. Receipt) 29 Novr." The script is Marathi, and the text is on the whole free from corruption.

1. The *Mitāksharā*, Nirnayasagara Press edition, p. 223.
2. *Manu*, VII, 135-136.
3. *Ibid*, VII, 3-7.
4. *Ibid*, 86.
5. *Ibid*, VIII, 27.

DOCUMENT 19

The Document is written on one side of a sheet of hand-made paper measuring about 12.75" x 15.75". The watermark

reads 'Webster/1833'. The actual writing occurs on the left half of the sheet and covers an area of 15.75" x 5.5". A space of about two inches intervene between the text and the superscription. Characters are bold and regular. The script is Devanāgarī. No distinction is observed between 'v' and 'b'. N, 'ñ' 'n' and 'm' do not change into *anusvāra* when preceding other consonants. The rule under which consonants become duplicated after r has been scrupulously followed. Full stops are indicated by two vertical bars, shorter stops by single bars, and inverted commas by a pair of small vertical bars written on the top of the initial and final letters of the quoted passage. The document bears the signatures of its authors, but gives no date. The date can be approximately fixed with the help of the docket which reads: 1833/In a lr from the offg. Secrety/to the Government of Agrah/Dt. 31st Octr/R/24/Nov./T.A. On the reverse side of the sheet occurs the foilowing :—Baiwasta, or opinion of the/ principal pandits of Benares, declaring the/person named Rutton Singh who now/sits on the guddy of Chirkhauri, to have/no right to it, and that Deewan Khait Singh/Son of Luchman Singh is the rightful/owner. A translation in English/accompanys this". The document itself gives only 8 signatures, which shows that a portion of the document containing the 9th signature has been torn away. The name of the 9th signatory is given as Subba Sastri in the English translation. (Pol. Cons. 30 Nov. 1835 no. 14).

1. *Jagadrājasimha*—Second son of Chhatrasal according to Luard (*Central India State Gazetteer*, P. 208) and third son according to Aitchison (*Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, Vol. V. p. 16). He is said to have received Jaitpur, Ajaigarh and Banda at the time of the partition of his father's territories in 1732. In 1739 Jagatraj called in the Peshwa to assist him against Muhammad Khan Bangash. Died in 1758.

2. Luard (*Loc. cit*) mentions eight sons, instead, of four, and gives their names in the following order : Kirat Singh, Pahar Singh, Bir Singh, Senapat, Kehri Singh, Hate Singh, Khet Singh, Arjun Singh, Devi Singh, Kharg Singh and Kalyan Singh. All were not possibly legitimate issue. Bir Singh, for instance, was an illegitimate son according to Aitchison (*Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, Vol. V, p. 24).

3. According to Luard the fourth son of Jagatraj. He succeeded to the latter's territories in Dalippur (*C. I. State Gazetteer*, p. 208.)

4. Evidently the same as 'Pahar Singh' of Luard's Genealogical Table (*Op. cit.*). He was the second son of Jagatraj. On the latter's death he ousted his nominee Guman Singh from the Chiefship of Jaitpur and forced the latter to take refuge in the

fort of Charkhari. In 1761 however he came to terms with his nephews and assigned them territories. Guman Singh received Banda and Ajaigarh while Khuman Singh the Chiefship of Charkhari.

5. Kehari Singh. According to Luard's Genealogical Table the fifth son of Jagatraj who was settled in Toria Kulpahar.

6. Kirata Singh, the eldest son of Jagatraj according to Luard's Table. He pre-deceased his father.

7. *Shumānasimha*—Khuman Singh of Luard's Table. On him see INTRODUCTION.

8. Same as Dhundsingh of Luard's Table.

9. 'Bijai Bahadur' of Luard's Table. On him see INTRODUCTION.

10. Only the last of the three princes viz. Govindadas is mentioned by Aitchison (*Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, Vol. V, p. 22) and is described by him as the 'only legitimate son of Bijaibahadur'. He died in 1822.

11. On Khedasiṇha (Khet Singh) see INTRODUCTION.

11a. The verse is quoted by *Smṛitichandrikā* (p. 290).

12. Manu, IX, 155.

13. Devala according to Kane flourished some time between the second or fourth century A. D. The original texts of Devala are lost, but fragments still survive in the form of quotations in later works like the *Mitāksharā*, the *Smṛitichandrikā* etc. The verse is quoted in a number of legal commentaries, e.g. *Vyavahāramayūkha* (p. 85), the *Mitāksharā*, (p. 125) and the *Parāśaramādbhaviya*, (p. 506.)

14. *Yājñavalkya*, II, 133.

15. Reference is evidently to the edition of *Viramitrodaya* brought out by Calcutta Sanskrit Press in 1815.

16. *Yājñavalkya*, II, 125.

17. Madanaratna (Bikanir Manuscript Library No. 142, *vide* L. S. Joshi, *Dharmakosha*, Vol. I, p. 1403). The verse also occurs in the *Dāyabhāga*, p. 141.

18. *Gautama Dharmasūtra*, 28, 39 (Sacred Books of the East, Vol. II).

19. Manu, IX, 168.

DOCUMENT 20

Written on side one of a sheet of indigenous hand made paper measuring 8"×10.5". Characters are bold and regular. The script is Devanāgarī. The beginning of a fresh line is indicated by two vertical bars, which are also used to denote full stops. As regards orthography the only point to be noticed is that *m* followed by consonants is substituted by *anūsvāras*. Exceptions are provided by *m* preceding gutturals and palatals. In one case *nt* has been changed into *mt*. The rule of repeating consonants after *r* has been followed only in one case. The cover, which is made of the same paper as the document, has also been preserved. For date see notes 7 and 8 *infra*.

1. The name of Śri Rāma is used presumably because the Ranas of Mewar trace their descent directly from him. All official documents of the Udaypur State begin with this superscription. (cf. *Vir Vinod*, Pt. XVI, pp. 1795, 1806.)

2. *Ekalimga*—‘with one limga’, the name under which Śiva is worshipped by the Śigodia dynasty as its patron deity. The temple of Ekalimga is situated at a place called Eklingsji 12 miles to the north of Udaipur. The original building is believed to have been constructed by Bappa Pawal and was destroyed by the Muslims. The present temple is of unique design “having a double storeyed porch and sanctuary, the former covered by a flat pyramidal roof composed of many hundred circular knobs, and the latter roofed by a lofty tower of more than ordinary elaboration”. The image is that of a fore-faced god and is made of black-marble, (Fergusson, *Picturesque Illustrations of Ancient Architecture*, 1848). Since Bappa’s time the Chiefs of Mewar have been vicegerents of Ekalimga.

3. *Panditarāja Śri Ramganātha*—The following entry about him occurs in Foreign Department Miscellaneous Series, Vol. 135 (Gentlemen having dealings with the British Government, 1814-18): “He is also styled Rajgooroo having been officially as such for 13 years while Gajraj Misser was in Benares to which place he had retired during the disturbance created by Ran Bahadur. Ranganath is Guru to the Ranees as to the most of the Principal Sardars who in like manner have their gooroos”. It is learnt from the same source that his brothers Kishen Pandit Bishnoram and Narain were also at the Nepalese Court. Principal Rudraraj Pande of Katmandu College tells me that Ramganātha was a brother of the famous ‘Raghunath Pandit’, Prime Minister of Nepal between 1837 and 1838, (Hunter, *Life of Brian Houghton Hodgson*, pp. 160-63).

4. *Sardārasimha*—On him see INTRODUCTION, p. 14, Note 21. He belonged to the Bagor family and was adopted by Jawan

Singh. He succeeded the latter on 30th August 1838. He was very unpopular with his nobles and with a view to consolidating his power tried to subsidise a regiment of infantry to be stationed in his capital. This move however did not succeed as the proposal did not find favor with the paramount power. He died on the 14th July 1842 and was succeeded by his brother, Sarup Singh, whom he had adopted. (See Erskine, *Mewar Residency*, p. 27; *Vir Vinod*, Part, XVII; J. C. Brooke, *History of Mewar, Calcutta*, 1859).

5. *Javāna Simha*—i.e. Jawan Singh (1828-38). He succeeded his father Bhim Singh II on the 31st March, 1828. During his regime the tribute to the paramount British authority fell heavily into arrears, and he bequeathed to his successor a debt of about 19 lakh rupees. He died on 10 Bhādra, bright fortnight, V. S. 1895, (30th August, 1838). For the events of his reign see *Vir Vinod*, Part XVI. According to this work he was a very popular ruler, highly esteemed for his kind disposition and munificence. Three wives and six concubines became *sati* with him. (*Ibid*, p. 1808).

6. *Āsōja*—vernacular corruption of *Āsvina*.

7. The date when referred to the Northern Vikrama era, corresponds to 21st September 1838.

8. *Kārttika-krishna-dvitiyā*—i. e. 5th October 1838. The first date probably refers to the one on which the letter was actually drafted, and the second, the one on which it was delivered to the Nepalese Mission. It appears from Col. Spier's letter to Hodgson dated 14 Oct. 1838 (Secret Consultation, 21 Nov. 1838 no. 169) that the mission actually left Udaipur on the latter date.

DOCUMENT 21

Written on one side of a sheet of country-made paper, a little yellowish in colour and thicker and smoother than the paper used for the previous document. Size 13.75" x 8". Letters are bold and regular, and are probably in the same hand as the previous document. The document is heavily ornamented with squares in gold. As regards orthography almost the same characteristics are to be observed as in the previous document. The rule of duplicating consonants after *r* has been followed

in two cases only, e. g. *varyya* and *durjana*. As regards punctuation the same observations hold good as made in respect of DOCUMENT 20. The date of the document is *Kārttika-kṛishṇa dvitiyā*, V. S. 1895 (= 5 Oct. 1838).

1. *Śrīsa*—Reference is probably to the god *Śrīnātha*, who has his temple at *Nāthadwāra*, a town 30 miles north by north-east of the Udaipur city. This image is said to have been originally placed by Vallabhacharya in a temple at *Mutra* in 1495. Expelled by Aurangzeb from that town, his descendants wandered about Rajputana till 1671, when Maharana Raj Singh invited some of them to Mewar. A village was endowed for the worship of *Srinātha*, a temple was soon erected for his reception, and a town was built and called *Nāthādwāra* (the Portal of God) after his name. The Ranas of Mewar have therefore every right to describe themselves as *Śrīsa-pada-pāmkaja-sevanāvāpta-sakala-manoratha*.

2. *Paśupatīśvara*—i. e. *Pasupatinātha*, the guardian deity of Nepal. The temple at *Pashpati*, a small town near Katmandu, is considered to be the most sacred of all Hindu shrines in Nepal. The emblem of the deity together with the legend *Paśupati* have been found inscribed on a number of Nepalese coins (*Cf.* Walsh *Coinage of Nepal*, Plate I, no 10) and his image is depicted in the royal arms of Nepal.

3. *Rājendra Śrīvikramāśāha*—on him see INTRODUCTION.

4. *Asmadvamśyā*—On the tradition regarding the relation of kinship between the Sesodia dynasty of Udaipur and the Gurkha dynasty of Nepal see *Vir Vinod*, Vol. XVI, pp. 1848-49 and Perceval Landon, *Nepal* Vol. I, pp. 40, 42.

5. *Mahetā-Rāma-Simha*—Dewan of Mewar. The name is spelt as *Mahatārama* in *Vir Vinod* (p. 180). For the English translation of the letter referred to see INTRODUCTION, p. 23, note 53.

DOCUMENT 22

Written on one side of a sheet of indigenous hand-made paper measuring 8" x 6.5". The writing is in the same hand as that of DOCUMENT 12. The letters are bold and regular. The script is *Devanāgarī*. The document is embellished with small squares in gold. The Sanskrit text is followed by an Urdu translation which covers 3 lines. The document bears no date.

DOCUMENT 23

Written on both sides of a sheet of hand-made paper measuring 12" x 7.75". Both paper and ink are in a good state of preservation. The lettering is regular and the language free from errors. As regards orthography the only points noticeable are—(1) substitution of *n*, *m*, *ñ* and *n* by *m* before consonants and (2) use of single consonants after *r*. Full stops are indicated by double vertical bars and shorter pauses by single ones. The document contains neither any date nor any signature. But its approximate date can be fixed with the help of two other documents which have been found in the same collection, viz. two petitions in Urdu dated 26 June, 1853 from Tai Saheba and Bîya Sîheba, daughters of Baji Rao II (vide INTRODUCTION, pp. 29-30). The present document was enclosed with the second petition.

1. *Amarakosha*, VI, 27.
2. *Rigveda-khila*, 10.85 2a.
3. *Manu* VIII, 193. The sloka is quoted in *Nirukta*, III, 4.
4. *Amarakosha*, V, 39.
5. Reference is probably to *Manvartha-vivṛitti* by Nārāyaṇa Sarvajñī (1100-1300 A. D.).
6. *Niruktavedāṅga*—i. e. *Nirukta* of Yāska.

The passage referred to is probably the following :—

“*praśasti vodhā santānakarmane duhituh putrabhāvam. duhitā durhitā. dūre hitā, dogdhervā. naptāramupāgamat dahuhitram pautramitī. vidvān prajananayajñasya. retaso vā. aṅgādaṅgātsaṁbhūtasya hrīdayādahijātasya mātari pratyritasya vidhānam pūjayan. aviśesheṇa mithunāḥ putrāḥ dāyādāḥ iti*,” (III,4), Yāska's *Nirukta*, vol. I, ed. V. K. Rajavade, p. 44. The above text is really a comment on the *Rigveda* hymn III. 31.1., which Yāska considers as establishing the daughter's claim to succession to paternal estates. But Yāska himself admits the possibility of the text being interpreted in a different way and states, *na dubitarah ityekē* (i. e. according to some daughters are not entitled to inheritance). He quotes the following passage from *Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā* (4. 6. 4) in support : *tasmāt pumān diyādō dāyādā strī*.

7. *Āśvalāyana-grīhya-sūtravivṛitti*—The reference is not readily traceable, but the Vedic literature abounds with examples of the word *putra* being used in the generic sense of 'issue': e. g. *Pumāṁsam̄ putram̄ janayā* (*Atharvaveda*, 3.23. 3a); *Pumāṁsam̄ putram̄ ādhebi* (*Rigvada-khila*, 10.184.3); *Pumān̄ putro jāyate vindate vasu* (*Vājasāneyī Samhitā*, 8. 5. 6). The *Uvatabbāshya* (commentary on *Suklayajurvedasamhitā*) interprets the passage as follows; “*dubitāpi putrāśabdenochyate ityataḥ pumānīti viśeshyate*”.

8. *Vyākaranakaumudi*—i. e. the 'Siddhānta-Kaumudi' of Bhaṭṭojidikṣita (c. 1630-93 A. D.)

9. *Manoramā*—Praudhamanoramā, a commentary on the 'Siddhānta-Kaumudi' written by Bhaṭṭoji himself.

DOCUMENT 24

The document consists of two detached sheets each measuring 10.5" x 8.125". The paper is indigenous and hand-made, and is of light blue colour. Each sheet has been placed in a separate folder, apparently under the impression that they are parts of two entirely different documents. That this view is wrong will be clear from the following considerations. The paper of both the sheets is of the same texture, thickness and colour. The writing is in the same ink and the same hand. The forms of the letters and their arrangement show the same peculiarities. The style of the text in each case exemplifies the same eccentricities and mannerisms and even the same errors in grammar and diction. The text on the first page of the first sheet ends abruptly, and there is a gap between this and the second page, which is very easily filled in by the texts on the second sheet, even though the closing words on the first page of the former are lost. The text of the first page gives the superscription, the formal compliments used in petitions of this kind and part of the narrative the petitioner relates. The first page of the second sheet continues the narrative and the text of the petition ends on the second page of the sheet. This is followed by a list of the articles lost by the petitioner. This page contains only 6 items, each being a gold ornament. The second page of the first begins with the names of a few more ornaments. At the end of the names we have the remark "all these are articles made of gold set with gems," which clearly proves that the list is really a continuation of the list on the second page of the second sheet. We may therefore safely conclude that the two sheets originally formed parts of a single sheet, which later tore into two pieces through some accident. Being separated from each other, the pieces were easily mislaid and were treated as two separate documents at the time of repair. The text on the sheet therefore should be rearranged in the following order:—(1) the text on the first sheet, page 1, (2) that of the second sheet, page 1, (3) that of the second sheet, page 2, and (4) the text on the first sheet, page 2.

This view is further confirmed by the fact that the date of petition indicated in the text on the first sheet is identical with that given in the statement attached to the second sheet.

The script used in the text is Devanāgarī. The forms of letters are regular and neat. There are very few noticeable peculiarities about orthography. The letters *n*, *ñ*, *m*, and *n* before consonants invariably always change into *anusvāra*. Consonants do not undergo any change after *r*. In two cases *chchbb* has been replaced by *chb*. The style is faulty. The rule *samānakartrikebhyah tumun* has been consistently violated e. g. *chaurastu brāhmaṇaśirasī Sastram prahṛitya urasi lattā-prahāram kṛtvā mūrchitah*, (here the verb *mūrchita* is not governed by the subject of the *iyavanta* verbs *prahṛitya* and *kṛtvā*). Examples of subjects without finite verbs are numerous. The subject *vayam*, for instance, in the sentence immediately following the expression *nivedanīyāṁśastu* has no finite verb to agree with it. In a number of cases, again, the nominative in an active construction has been made to govern a passive verb, e. g. *vayam pamchānapuratah gayām samāgatya vijñapti-patram dattam*". In the following example the nominative absolute appears with the first case-ending whereas its verb appears with the seventh case-ending : *Sa prishtē*.

The space between the *maṅgalācharana* and the actual text of the letter has been filled in by the following remarks in English :—“The humble petition of Bishnath Dikshit Pundit of Beenoy Sing/Rajah of Ulwar near Jeypore./The petitioner requests that the Govt order which will be passed on this petition/may be forwarded to him at Ulwar near Jeypore.” The ink used is different from that in which the text is written.

At the bottom of the text on the second sheet, page 2 occur the following remarks in Persian script—*Hukm shud kih sail darkhāst-i-khud peshgah sāhib leftant governor behādur bangāl guzrānād, faqat tahrir tārikh 23 jūn 1854 īsavī* (i. e. ordered that the petitioner should present his application to the Lt. Governor of Bengal, that is all, written on 23 June 1854 A. D.)

On the right margin of the page appear the following words in Persian script : ‘num 155 Pandit Bishnath Dikshit Agnibotre gayā.

Evidently both these writings are in the hand of some employee of the Persian Branch of the late Foreign and Political Department.

The statement annexed to the second sheet reveals that the letter was dated 15 May 1854 and was received in the Persian Office on 3 June. The order given on the petition reads: “Petitioner/ shd address/to the Lieut Gov. of Bengal/J.D.” The initial is

evidently that of J. W. Dalrymple, the then officiating Under Secretary to the Government of India.

1. *Gaurāmda*—Evidently the same as the word *gurunda* which occurs in the *Bhavishyānukīrttana* Section of almost all the principal Purāṇas. The word is known to have been used in the sense of Englishmen or Europeans as early as the middle of the 19th century (see *Supra* DOCUMENT 9, Note 11). It was probably on the strength of the following passage in the *Matsyapurāṇa* that the word came to be interpreted in this way: “The earth is remembered as belonging to the *Tukhāras* 7000 years. The 13 future *Gurundas* along with low castemen, all of *Mlechchha* origin, will enjoy it half four hundred years.” (*Matsyapurāṇam*, Anandasrama edition, p. 273). As the word *Tukhāras* could easily be taken to mean Turks or Muslims it must have appeared quite logical to identify the *gurundas* with white men, who, in popular view, were of *Mlechchha* origin. Platt vouches for the word *gorand* which, obviously, is a corrupt form of *gurunda*, being used in the Hindi dialects in the sense of ‘destroyer of religious faith’ (i. e. *Mlechchhas*) at the time when he compiled his *Dictionary* (1884). There seems, therefore, little doubt that the petitioner has taken the word to mean ‘*Mlechchha*’ or white men and has changed it into *Gaurāmda* to make it look more Sanskritic.

2. *Kilakilā*—apparently a Sanskritisation of the word *Kālikātā* (Calcutta). Literally the word would mean wife of *Kila*-*kila* (*Siva*) or *Kāli*. As Calcutta is popularly known as the city of *Kāli*, it would be quite appropriate to equate the name with *Kilakilā*. The term however may have been derived in a different way. In the *Matsyapurāṇa* the term *Kilakila* is used to represent a group of foreign rulers who were destined to rule the earth at some future date. The corresponding passage in the *Vishnupurāṇa* gives the name of the race as the *Kailakilas*, and describe them as *Yavanas*. Since Europeans could very easily be termed *Yavanas*, it must have seemed very appropriate to the petitioner to identify them with the *Kilakilas* or *Kailakilas* and to term their city *Kilakilā*. That the *Kailakila* kings had their seat of power in a city called *kilikilā* is vouched for by a passage in the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* (Ganapat Krishnaju Press edition, XII, 32). Calcutta has certainly some claim to be considered the city of the Europeans par excellence.

3. *Alavara*—Alwar.

4. *Rāvarāja*—Rao Raja, the title of the Chief of Alwar.

5. *Vinayasimha*—on him see INTRODUCTION, p. 60.

6. *Visvanātha Dīkshita*—See INTRODUCTION, p. 60, n. 115.

7. • *Kshayābda*—Kshaya is the name of the last year of the famous *Bṛihaspati* chakra system of calculation found in the *Sūrya*

siddhānta. The 1st of the 84th cycle according to this system commenced in 1794. As the cycle consists of 60 years, the last year of the 84th cycle would correspond to 1854.

8. *Jyestha-krishna* 3—corresponds to 15 May 1854. This, incidentally, is the date of the document as stated in the statement attached to this letter.

9. *Kikata*—i. e. South Bihar. The word *Kikata* occurs in the Rigveda (III 53.14) as the name of a tribe. *Yāska* (Nirukta, VI. 32) declares it to be the name of a non-Aryan country. But in later literature it is given as a synonym of *Magadha*.

10. *Argalāpura*—No place of this name is traceable. Is it a Sanskritised form of *Agra*?

11. *Modanārāyaṇasimbagrāme*—Evidently it was a village or a market place named after Raja *Modanārāyaṇasimha* (*Modanarayyan Sinh*), son of *Maharaja Mitrajit Sinh* of *Tikari*. (Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XII, p. 52; *Bengal District Gazetteer: Gaya*, p. 238). No village bearing the name however is traceable.

12. *Śastraṁ*—Used probably not in the generic sense of a weapon, but in the specific sense of a *śastrī* or dagger, cf. *panya-śrīshu vivekakalpalatikāśastrīshu rajyate kab.*

13. *Lattāprahāram*.—Molesworth explains the expression as 'vigorous or active kicking' (*Marathi and English Dictionary*). The word *lattā* occurs in *Ardhamāgadhi* Prakrit literature in the sense of kicking. (Muni Sri Ratnachandrajī, *An Illustrated Ardha-Māgadhi Dictionary*). It is evident that the word has been borrowed by Marathi from *Ardhamāgadhi*, which was one of the most influential Western Prakrits.

14. *Barakandāja*—Arabic-Persian *Bargandaz*, literally a lightning-flower, hence an armed foot-soldier. According to Platt the word can also denote a peon from a police station, which is the sense in which it has been used here.

15. *Pamchānapura*—Panchanpur, ('Pochanonpur' of Buchanan, *Journal kept during the Survey of the District of Patna and Gaya*) a village 13 miles west of *Gaya*, situated on the West bank of the *Mohrar* river, just near the place where it meets the *Buddh* river.

16. *Kartari*—Marathi derivative from Sanskrit *Kartari* scissors.

17. *Chimtā*—a Desi word of unknown origin, meaning tongs.

18. *Kumji*—Marathi and Hindi derivative from Sanskrit *Kūncbikā* 'keys'.

19. *Takari*—i. e. *Tekari*, town in the *Gaya* Sub-division on the left bank of the *Morhar* river 16 miles north west of *Gaya*.

It is the ancient seat of the Tekari family and contains the fort of the Rajas (Bengal District Gazetteers: *Gaya*, p. 237)

20. *Jamādāra*—Persian *Jamadar*, literally, head of a body of men. The word usually denotes a native officer of the second rank in a company of sepoys, but it is also applied to officers of police second to the *darogha* (or Sub-inspector).

21. *Mājishṭara*—a corruption of the word ‘magistrate’.

22. *Thānā*—Hindi derivative from Sanskrit *sthāna* (a station or post). Here used in the sense of a police station. Cf. Marathi *Thāne* (a post or station under the civil authority), Bengali *thānā* (a police station), and Sanskrit *thānādhyaksha* (a police officer).

23. *Vyavahārānnṛipah paśyet vidvadbhib brāhmaṇaih saha, dharmasāstrānusārena krodhalobha-vivarjitah*, *Yājñavalkya* II, 1.

24. *Śrutādhyayana etc.*—*Yājñavalkya*, II, 2.

25. *Rāgāllobhat etc.*—*Yājñavalkya*, II, 4.

26. *Grāhakairgrihyate etc.*—*Yājñavalkya*, II, 266.

27. *Sābasasteyaparushyagobhiśāpatiyaye striyām, vishādayet sadya eva kālonyatricchhaya smṛitah*—*Yājñavalkya*, II, 12.

28. *Durdṛishtāṁstu etc.*—*Yājñavalkya*, II, 305.

29. *Ghātite'pahṛite etc.*—*Yājñavalkya* II, 271.

30. *Goṭhā*—probably the same as *goṭh* which, according to Jñanendramahan Das (*Bangla Abhidhān*) means a chain-like girdle for waist. In Upper India the word is used to denote a wristlet. Considering that the ornament was 18 tolahs in weight the second meaning should be more appropriate.

31. To 36 1 17 is not very intelligible. Perhaps the meaning is ‘36 tolahs, one tolah being equivalent to Rs. 17.’ On this view 36 tolahs would cost Rs. 612, which is exactly the figure quoted on the left of the word *goṭhajodī*. That figure, therefore, should be taken as representing the price of the ornament. That the petitioner has calculated the cost of all his gold ornaments at the rate of Rs. 17 per tolah will also be clear from the figures he gives for the other items in his list. The cost of 1 pair of *pāṭali* weighing 12 tolahs is given Rs. 204, that of 2 pairs of *kamgānā* weighing 4 tolahs as Rs. 68, that of *basuli*, weighing 6 tolahs as Rs. 102, that of *sari* weighing 16 tolahs as Rs. 221 and that of *vimḍali* weighing 4 tolahs as Rs. 68. This would leave very little room for doubt that the figures on the left represent the value of the items listed in terms of Rupees.

32. *Pāṭali*—Marathi *pāṭali*, a bracelet of gold and pearls (Molesworth—Marathi English Dictionary).

33. *Kamgānā*—Hindi derivative from Sanskrit *kankana* (bracelet), c. f. Marathi *kamgano*.

34. *Hasulī*—a collar of gold etc. Platt derives the word from Prakrit *hamṣaullia*.

35. *Sarī*—a chain of twisted gold or silver wire. Derived from Sanskrit *sari* and *īkā* according to Platt.

36. *Vimdali*—Is it the same as Marathi *bindale* (derived from Sanskrit *bindū*) meaning an ornament for the wrist of children, or is it rather not a derivative from the Hindi word *bindi* (or Marathi *bindi*) meaning an ornament or fillet worn by women on forehead? Cf. *tikali* > *īkā*.

37. 20 *da* 1 15 would mean '20 at Rs. 15 each'. *Da* is evidently an abbreviation of *dar* 'price.' On this view the figure 300 on the left of the word *mohara jayapuri* should be taken as representing the total value in rupees of 20 coins.

38. *Maharāja Sātāra* (?) The name is not easily identifiable. But from the figure on the left side it appears that the coins referred to were of the same value as Jaipuri coins.

39. *Mohara Lakhānī*—Lucknow coin i. e. gold coin issued from the Lucknow mint. It appears from Prinsep's *Useful Tables* that the Lucknow gold coins had a weight of 166 grains and contained 164.70 grains of pure gold. Its price was accordingly slightly higher than Jaipuri gold coins which weighed 174.99 grains and contained 164.05 grains of pure gold.

40. *Putalī*—The fact that *putalīs* have been valued at Rs. 5½ each argues in favour of the word being taken as Marathi *putalī* meaning a gold coin valued at Rs. 4/- each. The word may also mean a statuette.

41. *Tikali*—an ornament worn on the forehead, probably derived from Sanskrit *īkā* meaning a spangle on the forehead.

42. *Gosrimga*—the word is not traceable in any of the standard dictionaries. Is it a homonym of *gosīrsha* or sandal wood? In that case *gosrimgamālā* would mean a rosary of sandal beads.

43. *Ketaka*—Is it the same as Hindi *katak* meaning 'a bracelet' (see Platt)? It is probably derived from Sanskrit *kātaka* 'a bracelet of gold'.

44. *Rākbadī*—'a kind of ornament worn by women on the forehead' (Platt).

45. *Mathe-kā-pbu*—literally 'a flower on the head'. Perhaps an ornament for the coiffure.

46. *Gāthali*—probably the same as Marathi *gāthale* which means a necklace of gems or coins (Molesworth, *Op. cit.*)

47. *Nath motī wa hīra vālī*—a nose-ring studded with pearls and diamonds. *Motī* is a Hindi derivative from Sanskrit *mauktika*.

48. *Kāp*—a Marathi word meaning an ear-ornament for females.

49. *Motī kā dāñā vinā voy*—Seed pearls without holes.

50. *Nīla*—Marathi derivative from Sanskrit *nīla* and has the same meaning as Hindi *nīlā* ‘a sapphire’.

51. *Pushparāga*—topaz, cf. Hindi *pokhraj*.

52. *Sātpbulī motī*—literally ‘seven-flowered pearl’. Probably a nose-top consisting of a gold bit shaped like a seven-petalled flower and set with a pearl (Molesworth, *Op. cit.*).

53. *Bhokrājorī*—read *bhokrājodī* probably the same as Mārathi *bhokar* meaning the pendant of an ear-ring (Molesworth, *Op. cit.*)

54. *Chaukadā*—a Marathi word meaning an ornament made of four golden rings each having a pendant of pearl (Molesworth, *Op. cit.*)

55. *Katorī do tukad*—two fragments of a bowl. The word *katorī* occurs both in Hindi and Marathi. The forms *katorā* and *kattoraka* are found in medieval Sanskrit literature. The word *tukad* is evidently a variation of Marathi *tukada* meaning a fragment, a broken p.rt.

56. *Chamachyā*—‘a spoon’, derived from Persian *chamchā*. Cf. Sanskrit *chamasa* and Marathi *chamachā*.

57. *Pela*—a Marathi word meaning a cup or a bowl, derived from Persian *piyālā*. Cf. modern Hindi and Bengali *piyālā*.

58. *Pohachī*—Platt spells the word as *pabuchi* which means a wrist-ornament, specially a bracelet of gold beads strung together and fastened with a clasp. In Marathi the word is spelt *pohanchi* and means a wrist ornament for males.

59. *Kadā*—a Hindi word meaning a bangle.

60. *Todā*—In Marathi the word means a ring of gold or silver for the wrist or ankle. In Bengali the word stands for an anklet. Platt derives the word from Sanskrit *troṣṭaka* (Prakrit *todāa*), and explains it as a gold or silver chain for the neck or a similar ornament for the ankles usually consisting of 3 chains.

61. *Vichbayā*—The same as *bichhuā* or *bichhavā* of Platt. It means a ring worn on the great toe. This signification arises, according to Platt, from the shape of the ring resembling that of a scorpion’s sting.

62. *Masolā*—Evidently the same as Marathi *Māsolī* meaning a fish-formed ornament for females (Molesworth, *Op. cit.*).

63. *Bāli jhumkā—bālī* in Sanskrit means a kind of earring passing through the centre of the ear. *Jhumkā* in Marathi and Hindi is a bell-shaped pendant of an earring. The compound word would therefore mean a pendant with an earring.

64. *Pille*—a word of unknown derivation.

65. *Phulpāvak*—not traceable in any of the standard dictionaries.

66. *Ghumghuru*—(Hindi) an ornament composed of little bells worn on toes by females.

67. *Tukadā chāmdi*—a piece of silver. *Chāmdi* is probably a derivation of Sanskrit *chamdra* meaning gold.

68. *Nagad*—Arabic *naqd*, 'cash'.

DOCUMENT 25

The document consists of two detached sheets of hand-made paper measuring about 4.5" by 5.5" and 4.75" by 8" respectively. None of the sheets bear any watermark, and each possesses a texture altogether different from the other. The writing on each sheet is in a different hand. The ink used on the second sheet is darker and much brighter than that on the first sheet. The text on the first sheet purports to be a quotation from Raghunandana's *Vyavahāra-tattva*, that on the second is a quotation from the *Viramitrodaya* (*Dāyabhāgaprakarānam*, p. 54).

The sheets are preserved in the same collection with an appeal in Persian, dated 1st January 1853, from one Murari, son of Dusant (Dushyanta?) against an order of the court of the Judicial Commissioner of the Punjab (see INTRODUCTION, pp. 44-45). The appellant clearly states that he submitted with his appeal a *vyavasthā* in support of his claims and there is little doubt that the texts reproduced are the *vyavasthā* referred to by him. In the appeal the name of the author is given as Ojha Ram Pandit Amar Sankar. As they are in diverse hands it is reasonable to argue that none of them are in the hand of their author, but are mere copies.

From a statement attached to the document it appears that it was received in Calcutta on 17 February 1855. The following observation in Persian occurs at the bottom of the second page of the petition. "Ordered. Not fit for interference by this Department dated 23 March 1855." This bears no signature.

The cover of the document has been preserved. The address reads "Ba-huzur faiz-zabur khudawand-nit 'mafaiyaz-aman janab governor-general bahadur kishvar-i-Hind lat sabib bahadur dama-iqbala hu To his Excellency, the benevolent, the master of boons, the most benign of the times, Janab Governor-General, the brave of the country of Hind, the Lat Sahib Bahadur, may his good fortune endure for ever).

1. *Kalpataru*—Kṛityakalpataru, a legal treatise composed by Lakshmidhara, a minister of Govindachandra, the Gāhadavāla king of Kanauj (1104-1154 A. D.). The treatise has not yet been published, the most complete manuscript being in the Library of the Maharāja of Udaipur.

Ratnākara—*Vivādaratnākara* of Chāndēśvara, (Bibliotheca Indica series). Chāndēśvara is said to have been a minister of Harisimhadeva of Tirhut who was defeated and routed by Ghiyasuddin Tughluq in 1324. The Kātyāyana passage quoted occurs on p. 505 of the printed edition. (See also Kane—*Kātyāyana-smṛitisāroddhāra*, p. 107).

2. *Raghunāthanandana Bhaṭṭāchārya*—In the colophons to his works the author of *Vyavahāratattva* usually describes himself as Śrī-Vandyaghāṭīya Hariharabhaṭṭāchāryātmaja-Raghunandana-Bhaṭṭāchārya. The addition of the word Nātha to his name may have been due to a confusion between him and Raghunātha Sironāṇi, the great exponent of Nyāya philosophy. That many are still labouring under the same confusion will be clear, if one reads the biographical note, given on him in Kāṇe's *History of Dharmasāstra* and Sarvādhikari's *Tagore Law Lectures*. According to Jolly Raghunandana flourished early in the 16th century. Aufrecht places him between 1430 and 1612 A. D.

3. *Yathāha*—The published text of *Viramitrodaya* reads *tathāha*.

4. *Nānyatra*—These words are omitted from the published text of *Viramitrodaya*.

5. *Jimūtavāhana*—Reference is to Jimūtavāhana's *Dāyābbaga* (chapter III, Sect. 1, 12-14, Colebrooke, *Two treatises on the Hindu Law of Inheritance*, p. 57). The date of Jimūtavāhana has been fixed as c. 1090-1130 A. D.

6. *Viramitrodaya*—see DOCUMENT 1, note 4.

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 Varuṇā, river near Benares, 46.
 Vaśiṣṭha, 63, 101, 128, 141.
 Vasoo Deva Goorjara, 71n.
 Vasudev Bhat Gurjar, Vasudeva Bhatta Gurjara, 71, 71n.
 Vasurāṭa, 102.
 Vaya, *see* Ayurveda.
 Vāyu, Hindu deity, 104, 143.
 Vāyu Purāṇa, 136.
 Vedānta, **51n.**
 Vedas, the, **51n, 91, 106.**
 Vena, father of Pr̥thu, **85, 134.**

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

INTRODUCTION

Page Line

Page	Line	For	other paper	Read	other papers
1	11	„	Mr. Thomson	„	Mr. Thompson
5	4	„	without any business public or private	„	without any business, public or private
6	27	„	seat a Gokula	„	seat at Gokula
9	11	• „	from 1804 to 1839	„	from 1804 to 1837
16 f.n.	7	„	Jemadar Raja Bunse Singh ²⁹	„	Jemadar Raja Bunse Singh ³⁹
18	•1	„	“aurasa-putra”	„	“aurasa putra”
33	3	„	(Document 13)	„	(Document 14)
37 f.n.	15	„	Vikrama-biradavali	„	Vikrama-biradavali
39 f.n.	8	„	brother or a parental uncle	„	brother or a parental uncle
40 f.n.	5	„	by hm	„	by him
48	15	„	Clacutta	„	Calcutta
50	1	„	Chatrasal	„	Chhatrasal
51	2	„	Sragdhara	„	Śragdharā
58	1	„	aazi	„	arzi
59	14	„	John Ryecroft Best	„	John Rycroft Best
60	12	„	Apastamha	„	Āpastamba

TEXT

Page Line

Page	Line	For	श्री	Read	श्री:
1	3	„	निर्वंध	„	निर्वंध
„	15	„	तुतं	„	तु तं
2	3	„	पुत्रवत्ता	insert	sic

Page Line

2	10	for	निवंधेषु	read	निवंधेषु
,,	19	after	बहुपुत्रेणे	insert	sic
,,	25	.,	ब्राह्मणानां	„	sic
3	1	for	चौरसातिरिक्त	read	चौरसातिरिक्त
,,	5	„	नाम्नो गङ्गारामस्य	„	नाम्नो गङ्गारामस्य
,,	10	„	ठोबलो	„	ठोबलो
5	1	after	विक्रमादद्व	insert	sic
,,	3	for	पत्र	read	पत्रं
,,	5	after	बूमः	insert	sic
6	2	for	मधुरा	read	मधुर
11	6-7	after	वहुधा	insert	sic
,,	10	for	पालनार्थ	read	पालनार्थ
,,	23	„	न्युनता	„	न्युनता
12	1	„	वर्तते	„	वर्तते
17	3	„	श्रीमन्त	„	श्रीमंत
,,	18	„	तस्मादिदार्नि	„	तस्मादिदार्नी
,,	„	„	कौशल्य	„	कौशल्य
20	1	„	निवेशमन	„	निवेशनम
20	3	„	षड्विंश	„	षड्विंश
,,	6	„	चतुर	„	चतुरः
,,	13	„	सामार्थ्य	„	सामर्थ्य
,,	18	„	एषो	„	एष
,,	24	„	रंतिदेव	„	रंतिदेवः
21	9	„	साक्षात्त्वम्	„	साक्षात्त्वर्म
,,	12	„	मम	„	म
22	7	„	सिन्दुरिका	„	सिन्दुरिका
,,	20	„	मया लिख्यते	„	लिख्यते भूय
25	3	„	पुण्यकीर्त्तिन्	„	पुण्यकीर्त्तिन्
,,	5	„	रणभूवि	„	रणभुवि
,,	6	„	प्रात	„	प्रातः
27	1	„	द्रात्म	„	द्रात्मः
28	1	„	विद्युद्दण्डः	„	विद्युद्दण्डः
,,	6	„	गणयैरपि	„	गणयैरपि
30	2	after	नेतस	insert	sic
,,	2	„	यसबन्तस्य	„	„

Page Line

31	5	for	तेष्येको	read	तेष्येको
„	20	„	दानपत्रसाहत	„	दानपत्रसहित
32	17	„	ग्रहन	„	ग्रहण
„	21	„	वचनात्	„	वचनात्
„	23	after	ब्रह्मचारिणः	insert	sic
„	25	for	पत्न्यभिगामी	read	पत्न्यभिगामी
33	8	after	वृहस्पति	insert	sic
„	10	„	„	„	„
„	13	„	ब्रह्मचारि	„	„
34	13	for	पूर्वजाः	read	पूर्वजः
35	13	„	रिक्थं	„	रिक्थ
„	23	„	शुद्धेषु	„	शुद्धेषु
„	28	„	भवेत्	„	भवेत्
36	19	„	दृशदत्योः	„	दृशदत्योः
„	21	after	सुरसेनजाः	insert	sic
„	22	for	प्रसूतस्य	read	प्रसूतस्य
37	1	after	पुने	insert	sic
„	2	for	प्रत्युतः	read	प्रत्युतः
„	2	„	सार्वकालिक	„	सार्वकालिक
„	7	„	संहन	„	संहनन
„	9	„	वृभुजू	„	वृभुजू
38	1	„	कर्षण	„	कर्षण
„	1	..	कर्थ	„	कर्थ
„	5	after	मंस्था	insert	sic
„	6	for	महती	read	महती
„	12	„	शुद्ध	„	शुद्धी
„	16	„	महि	„	मही
40	6	after	लभेत्ववेति	insert	sic
„	8	for	तदाभावे	read	तदाभावे
„	14	„	दुहित्	„	दुहित्
41	19	„	जीवत्याद्	„	जीवत्याद्
„	24	„	कल्याण	„	कल्याण
43	6	„	कर्मणैव	„	कर्मणैव
„	6	„	ततोऽस्मा-	„	ततोऽस्मा-
„	7	after	लोके	insert	sic

Page Line

44	1	for	श्रीजयति	read	श्रीजयति
„	5	„	मासीप	„	मासीय
45	3	after	मृतेस्य	insert	sic
„	7	for	सवृत	read	सर्वत
„	18	„	तावद्राजा	„	तावद्राजा
46	22	„	शुद्धैव	„	शुद्धैव
„	22	„	शुद्ध्यां	„	शुद्ध्यां
„	25	„	कामती	„	कामतो
47	18	„	सम्मति	„	सम्मतिः
„	18	„	प्राड्विवाक	„	प्राड्विवाक
48	2	„	ऐकलिंगजी	„	ऐकलिंगजी (sic)
„	3	„	गुणगणालङ्कृत	„	गुणगणालङ्कृत
„	3	after	गृहित्वा	insert	sic
49	3-4	for	सहस्रांशु	read	सहस्रांशु
„	17	„	धारणीय	„	धारणीयः
50	3	after	पश्चितस्याशी	insert	sic
51	9-10	for	जनयद्भु	read	जनयद्भु
„	12	„	क्लीवा	„	क्लीवा
„	13	„	क्लीवे	„	क्लीवे
52	6	after	पुत्र	insert	sic
53	6	for	पाश्चात्यदेशार्तगौत	read	पाश्चात्यदेशार्तगत
„	24	„	हृत्योरसि	„	प्रहृत्योरसि
54	7	„	मोक्षितक	„	मौक्षितक
„	20	„	गतंव्य	„	गतव्य
55	9	„	कथभागत	„	कथमागतं
59	10	„	सुनवः	„	सूनवः
„	15	„	मातृणा	„	मातृणा
55	6	N.B.—The reading in the original manuscript <i>Dyūtasatka</i> is probably correct. The word <i>satka</i> is frequently found in Medieval Sanskrit texts as being used in the sense of 'belonging to' 'pertaining to' 'addicted to' cf. <i>Adhīśvara-satkam, tatsatka</i> (Bharaṭaka-Dvātrīmśikā, ed. J. Hertel, pp. 29, 32, 55).			

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Page Line

63	33	<i>after</i>	Nandapaṇḍita	<i>delete</i>	full point
67 f.n.	4	<i>for</i>	Nicholl	<i>read</i>	Nicholls
77	31	„	Jayanarāyan	„	Jayanārāyan
105	30-31	„	of the remaining modes of the wife's status marriage	„	of the remain- ing modes of marriage
109	10	„	John Ryecroft Best	„	John Rycroft Best
110	7	„	„	„	„
116	13	„	Subākṛishṇa and Nārāyaṇa Malla	„	Subākṛishṇa Nārāyaṇa Malla
121	14	„	(in the city of Gaya	„	(in the city of) Gaya
122	22	„	from the town of	„	from the town of

NOTES

Page Line

Document 1.

128	13	<i>For</i>	Bhattoji	<i>Read</i>	Bhaṭṭoji
„	43	„	<i>Dehatis</i>	„	<i>Debates</i>

Document 3.

132	7-8	„	Bengali script normal	„	normal Ben- gali script.
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Document 6.

184	11	„	On	„	in
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Document 7.

134	4	„	Kauśalādhishṭhāt- ṛishu	„	Kauśalādhish- ṭhātṛishu
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Document 9.

136	6	„	rebal	„	rebel
„	11	„	Orissa	„	Orissa

Page Line

„ 25 for ekadaśaiva read ekādaśaiva
 „ 39 „ brahmadyairapi „ brahmādyai-
 rapi

137 3 add "The script used by the signatories is therefore Bengali and not Maithili as presupposed in the Text, p. 29."

Document 10-

137 7—8 for "The forwarding letter.....Department"
 read "In the forwarding letter (Pol. Con. 29 Feb. 1808 No. 49) Archibald Seton, Resident at Delhi, expressed the apprehension that the real object of Yasarant Rao in issuing the coin was to deprive the king of Delhi of the sole right of issuing coins which he had so long enjoyed. This apprehension was allayed by Edmonstone in his letter of 29 February in which he rightly pointed out that the term 'paramount sovereign' in the coin legend did not refer to Yasarant but to the King of Delhi and that Seton's fears were based on a mistranslation of the text."

Document 11.

139 2 for *ta(dā)bhāve* read *ta(da)bhāve*

Document 12.

140 8 „ Karan Singh „ Karam Singh
 „ 11 „ Original „ Originals
 141 34 „ *Pāñchalaśurasena-* „ *Pāñchālāśū-*
 jāh *rasenajāh.*
 „ 34 add The reading should be
 pāñchālāśūrasenajāh.
 „ 42 for *pratipākāmkshāyām* read *Pratipakākām-*
 kshāyām.

Document 14.

144 44 „ *tadābhāve* „ *tadabhāve.*
 145 5-6 „ „ „ „ „ „

Document 15.

145 note 4. The full text from which the half-verse has been taken is : Tāta Bāhvaṭa mā rodīḥ Karmaṇo gatir-īdriśi Dushadhātorivāsmākam dosha-sampattaye guṇah. The half-verse should be rendered: "As in the case of the root *dush* (which becomes *dosha* as soon as it is subjected to the *guṇa* operation) my *guṇa* (merit) has resulted only in *dosha* (defect)."

Document 16.

146 note 1 for Ryecroft read Rycroft.

Document 20.

149 line 39	,	Rammganātha	,	Raṅganātha.
150 note 6	,	Āśvina	,	Āśvayuja

Document 21.

151 line 13	,	Nāthādwarā	,	Nāthadwāra
„ „ 24	,	Śrivikramāśaha	,	Śrivikrama-śāha.

Document 24.

155 line 44	,	p. 60 n. 115	,	p. 60, n. 151.
156 „ 36	,	Mohrar	,	Morhar
157 „ 17	,	<i>parushya</i>	,	<i>pārushya</i>
„ „ 20	,	<i>ghāṭite</i>	,	<i>ghāṭite</i>
„ „ 22	,	Jñānendramahan	,	Jñānendra-mohan

Document 25.

161 line 34	,	Dāyābhaga	,	Dāyabhāga.
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